

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Thursday, the 20th March 1952.

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at 12 noon, Mr. Chairman (THE HON. SRI R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU) in the Chair.

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Overloading of carts drawn by men.

* 90 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO: Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state what steps have been taken to enforce provisions in the Madras City Police Act relating to overloading of carts drawn by men and in how many instances the provisions have been enforced since the amendment became part of the main Statute?

THE HON. SRI C. PERUMALSAMI REDDI (on behalf of the Hon. the Chief Minister):—"In order to enforce the provisions of section 71-M of the Madras City Police Act relating to the overloading of carts drawn by men, necessary by-laws were framed by the Government under section 78 of the Act and published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* in November 1948. A Press Note was also issued by the Government in February 1949 drawing the attention of the public to the by-laws that had been published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* and also specifying the main provision in Section 71-M of the Act and in the by-laws.

"In actual practice, when officers of the Traffic Police and of the Law and Order Police see a handcart which appears to carry more than the maximum laden weight, they stop the cart and take it to the Traffic Office for weighment. If the weight is found to exceed the laden weight permissible under section 71-M of the City Police Act, the pullers, as well as the persons employing them, are charged. Altogether seven cases have been charged hitherto under section 71-M of the Madras City Police Act, and all those cases ended in conviction."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"May I know whether these traffic police officers are provided with the necessary weighing machines for weighing these carts?"

THE HON. SRI C. PERUMALSAMI REDDI:—"Weighing machines are provided at certain places to which the carts are taken for weighment."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"I do not know whether I heard the Hon. Minister correctly. Did he say that even the persons employing the handcart pullers were punished?"

THE HON. SRI C. PERUMALSAMI REDDI:—"Yes, Sir."

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Recommendations of the Marjoribank's Committee.

* 91 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) what the recommendations of the Marjoribanks' Committee, 1937, were;

(b) whether those recommendations have been endorsed by the Land Revenue Reforms Committee;

(c) whether a Land Revenue Bill to give effect to the recommendations of the Marjoribanks' Committee as modified by Government was prepared as far back as 1939; and

(d) whether the Government propose to give effect to the principle of standardization of rates suggested by the Land Revenue Reforms Committee to give immediate relief to certain districts and areas in the State which have been paying enhanced rates?

THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“ The answer ^a is placed on the table of the House.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ With reference to the answer to clause (d), may I know when the matter was referred to the Board of Revenue, whether any report has been received from them and if not, whether the Board are being asked to expedite the matter so that the Government may come to a decision? ”

THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“ The report of the Board of Revenue has since been received.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ In view of the fact that there is now a fall in prices, and that any enhancement on the basis of increase in prices will not be effective, will the Government pass the necessary orders, so that by executive orders if possible, the principles pointed out by these two committees could be given effect to at least from the next fasli? ”

THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“ The matter will be considered, Sir.”

Resettlement rates in the districts mentioned in the second report of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee.

* 92 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) whether and from what fasli the resettlement rates came to be enforced in the districts mentioned in Schedules A and B in Appendix X of the Second Report of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee; and

(b) whether it is proposed to give relief to these areas either by executive orders or legislation at least in the immediate future as suggested by the Land Revenue Reforms Committee?

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THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“(a) A statement^a showing the particulars is placed on the table of the House.

“(b) The whole matter is being examined by the Government.”

Salaried stamp vendors.

* 93 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) whether the system of salaried stamp vendors is existing in any part of the State;

(b) whether these salaried stamp vendors are paid any commission on sales in addition to salary;

(c) whether the salaried stamp vendors are eligible to all the privileges such as pension, casual and privilege leave and other amenities;

(d) whether the salaried stamp vendors are entitled to gratuity as other Government servants not entitled to pension;

(e) whether the Government have at any time considered the question of making these posts pensionable or applying to them rules governing payment of gratuity; and

(f) whether the Government have received any representation on the subject and if so, how it has been disposed of?

THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“(a) Yes.

“(b) No.

“(c) They are permitted to avail themselves of 15 days casual leave in a year on a par with other Government servants and without incurring any extra cost to Government. But they are not entitled to any other leave with allowances or to pension.

• “(d) & (e) In January 1952, the Government have extended the benefits of the Madras Retiring and Invalid Gratuities (Non-pensionable Establishment) Rules, 1941, to the salaried stamp vendors also.

“(f) No representation has been received by the Government in the matter.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“May I know, Sir, whether the question of placing these stamp vendors also on a pension basis has at any time been considered by the Government?”

THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“I have no more information to give than what has been furnished in answer to clause (e).”

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Eviction of tenants by landholders.

* 94 Q.—SRI K. MANATHUNAINATHA DESIGAR: Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have received any representation regarding large scale eviction of tenants by landholders after the publication of the Press Note of July 1st by the Government;

(b) if so, from what districts and how many cases of eviction have been reported; and

(c) what action the Government have taken on them?

THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI:—“ No representations regarding large scale eviction of tenants after 1st July 1951 were received except from four villages of Tanjore district. The total number of evictions reported from these four villages was 103. The Rural Labour Conciliation Officers concerned tried to bring about a settlement between the landlords and tenants in the above cases. The Collector had reported in October 1951 that the total number of tenants evicted in Tanjore district during the previous one year was less than 1 per cent of the total number of tenants in the district. No further action was therefore considered necessary.”

SRI K. MANATHUNAINATHA DESIGAR:—“ May I know whether justice has been done to the tenants evicted in those four villages? ”

THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI:—“ It is a matter of opinion, Sir.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—“ As the Rural Labour Conciliation Officer has failed to bring about a settlement, what further steps have the Government taken to examine whether the evictions were justified and if they were not justified, whether the land will be restored to the evicted tenants? ”

THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI:—“ That aspect of the matter has not been gone into. In view of the fact that on an examination of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee report, a certain change of policy is likely to result in the land revenue system of the State, I think this question had better be deferred till decisions are taken on that report.”

Scales of salaries of teachers.

* 95 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO (on behalf of Sri B. Bhima Rao): Will the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have received representations from the South Indian Teachers' Guild or Federation about increase of the scale of salaries of teachers;

(b) whether the Government have considered the representations and arrived at any decision thereon; and

(c) if so, what their decision is?

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THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“(a) to (c) A representation has been received from the South Indian Teachers' Union communicating the recommendations of the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the District Teachers' Guilds on the subject. The matter is under consideration.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“May I know in what stage of consideration the matter still is? The then Minister for Education, Sri K. Madhava Menon, gave us an assurance about the revision of the scales of pay of secondary grade teachers.”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“The scales of pay of teachers were revised along with the general revision of the scales of pay of Government servants in 1947. Since then a further revision of the scales of pay of certain categories of teachers like pandits has been made. The Government are now examining the possibility of raising the scales of pay of secondary grade teachers in secondary schools and also of allowing slightly higher scales of pay for L.T. Assistants employed in aided high schools with 25 sections and more.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“Is the Hon. Minister aware that during the last session, the then Hon. Minister for Education assured me that the Government had decided to increase the scales of pay of secondary grade teachers? May I know when that decision will be given effect to or whether such a decision was not arrived at at all and the announcement made on the floor of the House was not correct?”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“No decision has so far been arrived at, Sir.”

Co-operative farming.

* 96 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture be pleased to state whether instructions have been issued by the Central Government to encourage co-operative farming and associate farming and if so, what the plan of action is to give effect to those directions?

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“In 1945 the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries set up by the Government of India recommended that pilot experiments should be tried by State Governments to study the relative merits of different forms of farm organization. The Government of India endorsed the recommendation and suggested that experiments might be made in Co-operative and Collective Farming. Early in 1951, the Central Government also recommended that associated farms might be set up by public institutions wherever possible.

“This Government have been encouraging co-operative land colonization societies and giving them all possible assistance. In regard to collective farming, this Government are awaiting the results of experiments conducted in other States.

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"As regards associated farms there are no possibilities of starting such farms in the State."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"May I know whether this Government have deputed an officer to go and see the working of these collective farms in other States? Would it not be desirable, Sir, to get first-hand information rather than rely on reports from other States?"

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—"I do not think that any officer has so far been deputed, Sir."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"Will the Government consider the suggestion, Sir?"

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—"Yes, Sir."

Procurement bonus fund.

* 97 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture be pleased to state—

(a) what the amount to the credit of the procurement bonus fund was, at the end of last year;

(b) what is the amount likely to accrue to it during this year;

(c) what the amount of expenditure incurred from the bonus fund was last year and what it will be this year and the amounts allocated to various items;

(d) whether the Government of India have intimated the discontinuance of procurement bonus from next year;

(e) whether this discontinuance will upset the programme of the State Government; and

(f) whether any representation has been submitted to the Central Government on the subject and if so, what their reactions are?

THE HON. SRI J. L. P. ROCHE VICTORIA (on behalf of the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture) :—"The answer ^a is placed on the table of the House."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"With reference to the answer to clause (f), may I know whether the Government will renew their request to the Government of India to give a full grant for 1951-52 in view of the financial position of this State?"

THE HON. SRI J. L. P. ROCHE VICTORIA :—"I think the matter has been sufficiently pressed upon the Government of India, but still whenever there is another occasion to press the matter again, the Government will do the needful."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"Are the Government aware, Sir, that the Government of India are giving full grants to other States for these intensive cultivation schemes?"

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THE HON. SRI J. L. P. ROCHE VICTORIA :—“ No, Sir, there has been a change in policy even with regard to the other States. The Government of India are revising the grants given to the other States also according to their present policy.”

Conversion of radium bromide into radium needles.

* 98 Q.—DR. P. V. CHERIYAN : Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that, since my questions on the subject on April 16th, 1951, the Government have sent to the U.K. the radium bromide for conversion into radium needles;

(b) if so, whether the Government took the opinion of the Expert in Radiology on the subject before the radium bromide was despatched;

(c) if the answer to clause (b) is in the affirmative, whether he will be pleased to place on the table of the House the opinion of the Government Expert; and

(d) if the answer is in the negative, why the Government did not take such an opinion in spite of the assurance given on the floor of the House?

THE HON. SRI C. PERUMALSAMI REDDI :—(a) Yes, radium bromide was despatched to the U.K. for conversion into radium sulphate needles and not radium bromide needles.

“ (b) As the Government had before them the considered opinion of the Committee of experts in August 1949 including the Director of the Barnard Institute of Radiology and also the experience gained in the use of radon from 1937 to 1941, they did not consider it necessary to obtain the opinion of a single expert alone.

“ (c) The question does not arise.

“ (d) After the assurance given in the House, Government examined the question again and were convinced that their decision that radium is more suitable and less dangerous than radon, was correct and in keeping with the latest literature available and in keeping with the latest trends in modern method of radiation treatment.”

DR. P. V. CHERIYAN :—“ Is the Hon. Minister aware that at present radon treatment is generally accepted to be much better than radium treatment? ” 12-15
p.m.

THE HON. SRI C. PERUMALSAMI REDDI :—“ But the opinion of the experts is otherwise.”

DR. P. V. CHERIYAN :—“ May I know the names of the experts who were consulted? ”

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THE HON. SRI C. PERUMALSAMI REDDI :—" The following persons have been consulted :—

- (1) The Associated Director of Health, Physics Division, Argonne National Laboratory, Chicago,
- (2) Director, Queensland Radium Institute, Australia,
- (3) Physicist in charge of Commonwealth X-ray and Radium Laboratory, University of Melbourne, Australia,
- (4) Dr. Ralston Paterson, Director, Holt Radium Institute, Manchester."

DR. P. V. CHERIYAN :—" I have in my possession now a letter from the Chief Physicist, Melbourne University and he says that radon treatment is the best. That is the latest opinion."

THE HON. SRI C. PERUMALSAMI REDDI :—" Experts may differ. This is what is said by Dr. Paterson about the potentialities of the use of radium and radon in his well-thought out statement whether radium or radon should be adopted. He has given an extract from the book on the treatment of malignant diseases by radium and X-ray. In that, he says that radium is much better than radon."

Allegations against the President, Mupparru Panchayat Board, Eluru taluk, West Godavari.

* 99 Q.—SRI MOTHEY NARAYANA RAO (on behalf of Sri A. Govindacharyulu) : Will the Hon. the Minister for Food be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Hon. Minister and the Secretary to Government, Local Administration, the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards, Madras, and the District Panchayat Officer, West Godavari, Eluru, have received any petitions and representations, written and oral, containing serious allegations against Mr. Dasari Vandanam, President of the Mupparru Panchayat Board, Eluru taluk, West Godavari;

(b) whether the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards ordered the District Panchayat Officer, West Godavari, Eluru, under acknowledgments in his R.O.C. No. H4-32790/51, dated 8th June 1951 and R.O.C. No. 32790/51-H4, dated 24th August 1951, to conduct an enquiry into all the allegations contained therein after giving due notice to the petitioners and submit his report before 25th June 1951 and 10th September 1951;

(c) whether any enquiries have since been made in the manner and on the lines indicated therein and whether any report has been submitted before 25th June 1951;

(d) if so, from whom, when, where and by whom and on what dates the enquiries, if any, have been conducted, and if not, why not; and

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“(e) when the Panchayat Board of Mupparru was formed and how many presidents have been convicted or removed from its inception and what are the reasons for their conviction or removal from their respective offices?”

THE HON. SRI J. L. P. ROCHE VICTORIA :—“(a) Petitions in writing were received by Government and the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards only.”

“(b) Yes.

“(c) The enquiries were made by the Deputy Panchayat Officer, Eluru. The report was not received by the Inspector before 25th June 1951.

“(d) The Deputy Panchayat Officer issued a notice to the petitioner Sri M. Kotaiah Nayudu to appear before him at the office of the Mupparru Panchayat on 14th September 1951 with his witnesses. The petitioner did neither attend the enquiry nor produce witnesses but suggested to the Deputy Panchayat Officer that he might himself summon some four persons to give evidence. One of them Sri Ganapati Venkatakrishnaiah, President, Pedapadu Panchayat, a resident of another village, namely, Nayudugudem turned up and deposed that he knew nothing of the matter. The Deputy Panchayat Officer's report was submitted to the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards by the District Panchayat Officer on 24th September 1951.

“(e) The Mupparru Panchayat was constituted in the year 1928. Of the six persons who came to occupy the position of president so far, two were removed from office for misappropriation of funds, and they were also convicted by a court of law.”

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GOVERNMENT BUSINESS.

- (1) GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“The general discussion of the Budget will now proceed.”

(At this stage, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, a member of the Panel of Chairmen, occupied the Chair.)

- * MRS. M. N. CLUBWALA :—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, I first express my disappointment at not having many of our other Ministers on the Treasury Bench and I will miss telling them of their many defects and receiving their answers.

“Sir, our Finance Minister, the Hon. Mr. A. B. Shetty, has been described by Mrs. Hensman, my colleague, as sweet and mild, in the presentation of the Budget, either because it is a four-months budget or because the mild and sweet Minister for Finance has not been very helpful in budgeting anything under Miscellaneous for

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some of the causes with which I am interested. I know that the Government have had to face very many difficulties during their regime because there has been failure of rain, failure of food and many other difficulties in the State. But, Sir, why is there this slackness in our State to support social welfare, whereas the other States in India are so very generous in encouraging social welfare workers? When we travel in other countries and see what great help the Governments of those countries give and how much finances they give to welfare agencies, we feel disappointed. Today the Government have taken over two schemes started by voluntary workers years ago. Those voluntary workers had to fight against criticism, against propaganda and lack of funds. I refer to the Women's Welfare Department and the Vigilance Association. They are now Government-owned and the Government take a great deal of credit. Rightly so. But then we would never have had such agencies had it not been for the good work done by the pioneers. I know the Government have some of their pet schemes. But why have they not included the other well-recognised ancient agencies working for social welfare, in the Budget? There is so much of beautiful land lying vacant. Some time back, about four years ago, I think, the Government appointed a Committee to choose sites for Youth Camps. We prepared an extensive scheme and experienced people went all over the countryside and saw many sites and put up proposals to the Government. But the proposals have been shelved. After all so many of our children live in such poor surroundings and they have not the good fortune to go out for health and recreation. They must have the opportunity to enjoy outdoor life. But no opportunity has been given to them in this direction. As you know, the Scout and Guide movements have become one now. It was a wish very often expressed in this Legislature by the then Minister for Education that, if both these movements became one, the Government would give us a large and better grant. Madras has taken the lead and we have become one agency, but there is very small help given to us in this direction. On behalf of this movement, I agree that giving better grants is not for salaries but we only ask for grants to help us in company with others to start open groups and help them to clothe themselves because that is one of the biggest difficulties they cannot solve.

"Then, Sir, in regard to the work of other welfare departments, both Indian and missionary, they are also suffering. I refer to the case of burnt-out lepers. Some time ago the Government passed an order that they would not give grants to institutions in respect of burnt-out lepers. They are giving grants for infectious cases at the rate of Rs. 9 per mensem per leprosy patient. Yet the Government Leprosy hospitals are charging Rs. 50 a month per leprosy patient. How can the Government expect voluntary organisations to turn out good work if they lack finance? They do raise their own money but still that is not sufficient. The result is that such organisations cannot afford to keep the burnt-out cases with their own slender resources and the patients coming back to society is not very pleasant either to themselves or to the public; on the other hand, they are a nuisance both to themselves and to society.

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I have specially promised some of these agencies that I would strive my best and plead with the Government to reconsider their decision in this direction.

“ I think, our Ministers are very public-spirited gentlemen and whenever they visit the institutions they have been shown a lot of goodwill. You must think that social welfare is very important and the goodwill you receive from them will depend on the amount of goodwill you show them. After all, you say that our State is a Welfare State, but I may say that it is only 50 per cent Welfare State.

“ Now, Sir, I would like to refer to a scheme which I feel so sore about and I think many social workers are sore about it also. I see the Hon. Chief Minister is smiling at me. I hope that some time or other he will nod his head and say ‘ yes ’. I am referring to the school for social work.

“ Our own boys and girls are going to schools of social work in Bombay, Delhi and Baroda for training. The cost there is prohibitive and many boys and girls cannot, therefore, afford to go to such places. But many of the students from these agencies come here to study field work in Madras because Madras has the best pilot scheme, the best in field work. Time and again we have made several requests to the Government and though at one time we had quite high hopes. I am sorry to say, they were blasted. I am speaking not on behalf of myself alone, but also on behalf of my colleagues. We have passed resolutions and we have gone to one Minister after another. I think I have paid at least 50 visits—my colleagues and I put together—to the Ministers and the Secretaries concerned and I was always told, ‘ you please go and ask a particular Minister because he is the person concerned ’ and then he passed me on and on right up to the Hon. Chief Minister. The Hon. Ministers and the Hon. Chief Minister know that after all we are only asking for a very, very small grant, about Rs. 20,000 recurring and Rs. 20,000 non-recurring. An important personage has promised to give us a substantial financial aid if we have Government backing. Other friends in England and America have also promised us liberally free of cost lecturers and an excellent library. We have our own training centres. Can’t you be more considerate and thoughtful about the scheme? Daily we get many boys and girls asking us when the school will start and whether they would be taken into the school. We talk about the welfare of labour and the Hon. Minister for Labour put in a special request and we had a conference and prepared a scheme. But, what is the use of having schemes if we do not have welfare workers to man these schemes? Therefore, I plead with you most humbly and sincerely to do something about it.

“ When we go to conferences in other places in India, which people from other States also attend, we hear one by one, each State having its own school and we are being laughed at and told : ‘ if you, social workers cannot persuade your Government, let us come and tackle them. ’ The Hon. Minister may smile, but we feel dejected about such remarks. It is not a whim of mine. Some people have

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been saying that a few well-dressed ladies are doing something. Well-dressed or plain-dressed, it is a fact that they do excellent work. I challenge anybody who says, 'no'. Please think about it; please do not let us lose all the goodwill that is given to us. We do not want to burden you with too much demand for money, but what we want is patronage; if we do not get the patronage of the Government, we cannot get many other things. We are aware of it.

"Now, Sir, turning to the Hon. Ministers for Food and Agriculture, they have been very good to the Women's Food Council, and indeed we are grateful to them and we are very much indebted to the Government for giving us the premises for running the Annapurna Cafeteria. We would plead with the Government to give us more and more such places to run cafeteria. Thousands of people are patronising this cafeteria. We are serving cheap and wholesome food amidst very clean surroundings. We are not a profit-making organization. Even when we supply things at a cheap rate we do make and we are making a little profit, and we are only utilising it for the improvement of the organization. I know many of the restaurants are annoyed at us and I understand that petitions have gone to the Government requesting them to close it down. I am glad that because people realise the good work that is turned out by the cafeteria we are continuing to do our work and certain restaurants near the cafeteria have brought down their prices. I hope when Hon. Ministers have a little bit of leisure they will come to our cafeteria and give us an opportunity of showing them the good food we are giving. I think the Hon. Minister for Food visited it once. Therefore, Sir, we plead that more places like that may be given to us. And, if the Government feel like giving us more such places, we can do much more. But, lack of transport stands in the way.

"I congratulate the Government on building the fine Nurses' Quarters. We are happy that it has come into being. I hope the Government will be able to give better salaries to nurses so that we may be able to get a better class of girls for the nurses' course.

"Then, Sir, our hospitals are inadequately staffed. If you visit the out-patient department any day of the week, you will find how people have to wait and wait and sometimes they are at the mercy of the menials who pick and choose and let them go in for treatment. It is, therefore, very proper that Government should have more people to help the poor and the illiterate to get medical attention as quickly as possible. Several malpractices go on and I can testify to those personally.

"Sir, on behalf of the Women's Association, I have to say we are grateful to the Government for all the help and encouragement they are giving to the Cancer campaign. I think the Government know that, at the head of the campaign, is our great and famous social leader Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi. They may put young people like us aside, but they cannot do so with people like our veteran social worker, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi.

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“ There are also one or two other things I would like to refer, about the homes for the aged. There is one at the Manigar Choultry. We have got on the whole only three homes for the aged people in our City. One of them is beautifully run by nuns. But if one looks at the Budget, the cost of maintenance and upkeep of these homes is the same for all. The inmates are fed, but nobody bothers about their frame of mind or to ascertain what is worrying them. I wish there is greater improvement in these homes. 12-30 p.m.

“ Youth is the most precious asset of any country. The Juvenile Courts are swarming with children who have either no parents or who have parents who are so poor that they have left their children to fend for themselves. We cannot avoid in the trains or railway stations beggar boys around us and girls too, and when we turn them away, some of them use vulgar language and offer threats. Others come purely with the idea of stealing. Perhaps Hon. Ministers do not see these beggar boys and girls as they are warned not to make noise near, or approach, the saloons in which the Ministers travel. They will see these beggars if they travel in the ordinary way. In the Juvenile Court, this year alone, over 300 cases have come to us under the Prohibition Detection Scheme. Boys carry arrack and spirits for grown-ups. The boys are asked to carry these for 4 annas. They not only carry the arrack but some of them even drink it. Even girls have been found in possession of arrack. If Prohibition is to be enforced in the State, it should be enforced strictly. Something must be done to stop this wastage of the youth. A large sum of money will have to be spent for the purpose. Even if the Government give a half of it to voluntary agencies, we are prepared to run homes for these children and make them better citizens of the country.

“ The Government say they cannot help social service organizations with funds. At the same time, they have restrained the organizations from raising funds for charities in the form they choose. I see nothing wrong in running a raffle. There is no gambling in this. People purchase tickets knowing that they are helping a worthy cause and a small gift is raffled to help the organization to raise money. Let the Government allow social workers the freedom to raise funds in the manner they choose. More and more people are coming forward to render social service. We want to make our nation as good as any other nation in the world, and we hope to succeed if only the Government give us more help. I do not ask the Government to take the welfare agencies under their aegis as, I think, it is not correct to do so. There are people ready to do the work. Only let the Government give them encouragement.

“ Since this is our last session, I wish to pay my tribute to the Hon. Chairman. He has been broad-minded and fair to all Members. He encouraged the Members to express their views. When I first made my Budget speech, I read it. He insisted that I should speak extempore. Since then, I have made several extempore speeches. I thank him for the encouragement he gave me and I shall always remember it.

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“ Sir, I take this opportunity of thanking the Hon. Ministers for the great encouragement they have given to the Social Welfare Agencies by their presence, goodwill and other forms of help. With all that, I do feel it very regrettable that they have not been generous where they could have been.

“ I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak.”

SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak. This is the last speech on the Budget that we will be making in this House. I do not want to deal with very many details. I shall be brief and point out a few grave irregularities in the hope that our successors at least will rectify them and give real help to the suffering public.

“ Ever since this Government came into existence, their hobby has been to waste money lavishly on their pet schemes. Anything must have a permanent and lasting value. It is an admitted fact that Prohibition is a thorough failure. On account of their Prohibition policy, the Government have lost all these years a considerable revenue and to enforce that policy they have to maintain a staff which also is a waste. The Firka Development Scheme is another white elephant. It looks as if public money is being wasted just to satisfy a set of people. The creation of new departments and the expansion of existing departments are only for the purpose of paying and retaining those who are employed in high offices. The result is that inefficient work is being turned out and this is a serious matter which has got to be looked into. As the Government go on expanding departments without any limit, they are unable to pay the old staff adequately and they consequently suffer and work a discontented manner. Though the well subsidy scheme is a good one, it has been more mismanaged than anything else. People did not get the desired benefit; on the other hand it has ruined several small landholders. Enormous amounts are being wasted on the Grow More Food Campaign, especially for maintaining the Special Engineering department on the plea that additional acreage will be brought under cultivation. I am sure all this is a jugglery and the money is being shared by the department and the contractors. Slow and steady progress alone will bring long-range benefits. These hasty schemes are only an eyewash and waste of public funds. If only the Government pay greater attention to the proper upkeep of existing irrigation sources, that itself will help to grow more food in these days of famine conditions. First the Government should provide water for the existing ayacut and then think of letting water for bringing new lands under cultivation. Let us be slow and sure. Mere show is no good. Let there be no paper scheme to throw dust in the public eye. Have the Government examined whether the production under the Grow More Food Scheme has been commensurate with the amount invested? I do not mean that money should not be spent on improvement works; only, money should be spent economically and with due regard to the return.

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The people of Tirunelveli district thought that the Manimuthar Project would be completed early, and the Minister gave us all hopes and collected money. What we now see is that money is being wasted lavishly on officers posted for doing preliminary work. The vehicles at the disposal of these officers are used only for the purchase of milk, ghee, buttermilk, cigarettes, etc., from the adjacent villages. A major portion of the amount will be swallowed up by the preliminary work. I understand that the scheme is at a standstill, though the foundation was laid with all pomp and glory long ago. It is very regrettable to note this state of affairs. Several other pending schemes are also in the same state. Though the Members on this side of the House have been pointing out instances of wastage of public funds, the Government did not pay heed to them because of their steam roller majority and went at breakneck speed with the result that the party in power is not in a position to form a stable Government though they have come out as the largest party in the Assembly in the recent General Elections. I wish to bring to the notice of the Government that people are discontented and have lost their confidence in the party in power. It is the disunion among the other parties that helped the party in power to come out as the party with the largest strength in the Assembly. I wish and hope that our successors will be imbued with the idea that the only way to build up the country is to carry out schemes slowly and steadily. Rome was not built in a day.

"In the interests of sound administration, it is better that partymen do not interfere in local and provincial administration. By this I do not mean that they should not represent matters which deserve to be brought to the notice of the officers concerned. Only they should not interfere in actual administration or threaten officers. I do not want to go into details.

"I thank our Hon. Chairman and also the Temporary Chairman now occupying the chair for all the kindness that they have shown to the Members."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—"Sir, let me congratulate you on your taking the Chair for the second time in this House. I have no doubt that you will conduct the deliberations of this House with the tact and ability that have been associated with you.

"We cannot but feel disappointed at the White Paper that has been supplied to us and the speech of the Hon. Minister in charge of Finance. I am quite aware that the Government are taking a vote on account only for the first four months of the year. But the budget that has been presented relates to the whole year. So, one would have expected the Ministry to give us a full picture of the financial position of the State and their achievements during the past six years. It may be argued that as this is only a Caretaker Ministry and as the Ministers who are in charge of certain portfolios are not in office, they are not competent to give a full picture. I say this is not a valid argument. The Cabinet has been working on the principle of collective responsibility. Though there

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have been changes in the personnel of the Cabinet now and then, the same party has been in power throughout the last six years and that party has been taking pride in the fact that the Congress Ministry continued to function all through. So, there could not have been any change in the principles and policies of the Government. That being the case, I cannot understand why the Ministry find themselves unable to place before us the full picture. Year after year, I have been pleading that the Budget speech of the year should narrate the achievements of the Ministry during the previous years, especially during the past year to enable the Members to understand how far the Ministry has succeeded in implementing the policies and programmes they have set before themselves and whether there is proper correlation of the future policies to those of the past. Members are very much handicapped for want of this full picture. I hope I am not wrong in characterising this session as a lame-duck session, if I am permitted to use an American expression.

12-45
p.m.

"That is why we are very much handicapped, and we do not know to whom we are making our suggestions and of what value our suggestions will be. The Care-taker Ministry is not responsible to this House. And if they are responsible to this House, this House will last only for a few days more. Such being the case I do not know of what use our suggestions will be. Still we follow the current, and I have to offer some suggestions in the hope that the successors to this Government or at least posterity may know what our ideas are and appreciate them in their proper perspective. One refreshing contrast of this session to the previous session is that we find ex-Ministers, ex-Chief Ministers and stalwart members of the Congress party rising one after another and vying with each other in denouncing their own policy and the policy of their own colleagues and of their own party. New light seems to have dawned on them, and I cannot resist the conclusion that if any one reads in cold print the speeches made here and outside by these stalwart members of the Congress party, one would find them to be a paraphrase of the speeches made by members on this side of the House—rather I would call those speeches a second edition of the speeches made on various occasions by members on this side of the House. This is a refreshing contrast, and I welcome it because I see in it the signs of the times. Only yesterday, the ex-Law Minister stated—I would say he confessed—that they at the top were not able to understand the position correctly and that they did certain things without sufficient imagination. I do not think there can be a graver condemnation of the performance of the Ministry than this. The ex-Chief Minister yesterday went on strongly condemning the policies and action of the Government. Probably the results of the elections have been an eye-opener to those stalwarts of the Congress party. Possibly they may be smarting under the blow they got at the polls. Perhaps this illumination might have come to them on account of their coming into closer contact with the masses during

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the elections with a view to securing their valuable votes. Anyhow this is a welcome sign of the times, and if this is continued, I am sure it will be better for the country. It seems that the spirit of introspection has come to them as a result of the elections. Some of them at least have now come to understand their policies correctly. It is quite possible that some might say that these persons who have been defeated at the polls are now speaking with an eye on the future elections which are expected to take place very soon. Even then I welcome this realisation on the part of these former members of the Congress Government. It has been pointed out by these stalwarts of the Congress that though crores of rupees have been spent by the Government during the last six years on many schemes, though taxes have been increased, and new taxes have been imposed, still the common man has not felt, and does not feel, that there has been any change in his lot. That is a fact. We have been crying hoarse about these things, and on those occasions we were ridiculed for speaking about the common man. Now times have changed and these stalwarts of the Congress have begun to plead the cause of the common man. Here again we stand vindicated in our attitude towards the policies of the present Government. It is good that as a result of the elections they have been able to understand the actual state of affairs in the country and the real condition of the poor masses. No less a person than that stalwart Congressman, who had been The General Secretary of the Indian National Congress for several years and who had also been the Rashtrapathi of the Congress (Mr. Kripalani), has said that people feel that the Britisher's regime was far better than the present Government. He has been repeating this *ad nauseam*, and the Ministers who had been defeated in the elections are now confirming his statement. But what is the good of trying to close the door of the stable after the horse has been stolen? We have been urging the same thing on the Government during all these six years. But our suggestions and criticisms fell on deaf ears. If the Government had given proper heed to our representations and suggestions, and if they had tried to act on our suggestions, this debacle could have been avoided, and the country and the people would have been saved from much misery. Unfortunately, the Government were too self-conscious and sure of their own infallibility, and the result is the State has been landed in misery. It is now too late for them to bemoan what has happened and to remedy the situation. This is one side of the picture arising out of the elections. I would have expected them to give us the other side of the picture also. When we had occasion to discuss the elections on the motion of the Government, the Minister for Elections, speaking on delimitation of the constituencies and other allied subjects again and again reiterated that he was anxious that the minorities should get proper representation in the legislatures of the country. He was also sure that the method of election prescribed by them would ensure proper representation for the minorities. Time and again we pointed out that the method adopted would not ensure proper

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representation for the minorities. But now, Sir, the elections have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the minorities cannot get proper representation in the legislatures by the method adopted in the recent elections. In view of the incontrovertible fact that minorities based on culture, language and religion do exist in this land, and that the Constitution itself recognises the existence of these minorities and guarantees to them the maintenance and development of their culture, their religion, their language, and even their scripts, we pointed out that these rights guaranteed to the minorities could not be implemented and guaranteed unless there was a proper device adopted for ensuring adequate and proper representation of these minorities in the legislatures of the country. We urged that the best method would be the continuance of the separate electorate though the party in power had been looking at it with the greatest amount of hatred and suspicion. If they cannot come round to continue the separate electorate, we suggested (and some other Members of the House and some of the Congress party also supported us) that the system of multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting could be adopted so that the minorities could get proper representation in the legislature. Another suggestion was also made, namely, proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. But all our suggestions were brushed aside, and the joint electorate system was held to be the panacea for all the ills of the country. What is the result of the elections, I humbly ask of them. The party in power did not put up a sufficient number of candidates from the minority communities. I am quite well aware of the instructions they have been receiving from the Rashtrapathi of the Congress to set up an adequate number of representatives from the minority communities so that they may get sufficient representation both in the State Legislature and in the House of the People. But you know what happened, Sir? A sufficient number of candidates belonging to the minority communities was not selected by the Congress Party. When the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee was questioned about this, he said that 'suitable' Muslims were not available in the Congress Party. Thereby he impliedly admitted that those Muslims who are in the Congress Party are not 'suitable' to represent the Muslims of the country in the legislature. He was in other words giving expression to his opinion as to the character and the nature of the Muslims who are in the Congress Party. I do not want to dwell on that point any further. The same fate happened to Christians also. Those of my Christian friends, who both in the Constituent Assembly and elsewhere refused to support our stand for separate electorates have now come to me and said: 'Well, we were wrong in opposing you; now from our experience we have come to know that your stand is quite all right'. Unless we have separate electorates or some device by which the true representatives of the minorities can be elected, the minorities will not have adequate representation in the legislature to voice forth their grievances and represent to the Government their needs

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and requirements, and their grievances and hardships. I am glad that some of my friends have come to realise our viewpoint, and very soon I hope they will rally round and fight in the proper manner for securing effective representation for the minorities. When I say this, people may say that I am the same old communal-minded person, that I am a Muslim Leaguer, and, therefore, I must get out of India. That is the only reply I have been able to get from those who are against my view. They are not able to answer my arguments. When Johnson failed in his arguments, he used to hit with the butt end of his pistol. Here I see the butt end of the pistol being freely used to meet our arguments. The elections have proved that in the joint electorate system, the minorities cannot get proper representation—or any representation—in the legislatures of the country.

“ Now, Sir, nobody can say that passions run high in our State. Animosity and hatred have almost died down and we may say that our State is almost in a state of normalcy. Even then, only four Muslims have been elected in Malabar from Constituencies in which the Muslims are in a majority. Except for them, I do not find any true representative of the Muslim community elected to the Legislative Assembly of the State or to the House of the People. Of course one Muslim gentleman Mr. B. Pocker has been elected from Malabar to the House of the People. Except for these people, no proper representative of the Muslim community has been elected.” 1 p.m.

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—“ What about the Muslim returned in North Arcot? ”

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—“ I know that and I am coming to that subject. I have not forgotten that. True, two Muslims have been returned on Congress ticket. If the hon. Member asks the Muslims of those places whether those two people will be their true representatives in the legislature, he will get a suitable reply.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—“ Anyway they have been returned.”

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—“ Yes, they have been returned. When there was British bureaucracy and when some Indians were nominated to the Executive Council or to the local legislature, were they considered as true representatives of Indians? We were saying that those Indians nominated by the British could not represent the Indians effectively in the legislature or the Executive Council. These two Muslims have been returned on account of the votes cast in their behalf by the vast majority of persons belonging to communities other than Muslims. That nobody can deny. I too had very good support of my Hindu brethren in my constituency and so also Mr. Anwar. Both of us lost only by a small percentage of votes. But these are exceptions.”

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MRS. MONA HENSMAN:—"On a point of information, may I know, Sir, whether the hon. Member's speech is a budget speech or an election speech?"

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—"Sir, the hon. Lady Member perhaps does not know that during the budget debate we can talk on any subject under the sun and even beyond the sun."

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar):—"I hope not. (Laughter.) The hon. Member has exceeded the time limit. The Chairman has suggested a certain time limit, which the hon. Member has exceeded. Anyway, he can continue for a few minutes."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—"Sir, I had no knowledge about the time limit. If I had been informed of it earlier, I would have adjusted my speech suitably."

"The President of the Indian National Congress who visited this State on the eve of elections while speaking at Madras about the Muslim minorities said, 'I do not want to come in their way legally or constitutionally. But I will certainly come in their way in every other manner.' That was the threat extended to the Muslim minorities of this State. He said that he would not come in their way either legally or constitutionally but would come in their way in every other manner. What is this third alternative other than legal or constitutional? I am not able to understand what this can be unless it is an illegal and unconstitutional way. I am really very sorry that the President of the Indian National Congress should have made such a statement. In spite of that, the Muslims have rallied round the Muslim League and have wholeheartedly voted according to the mandate of the League irrespective of caste, creed or community unlike the Congress people who have been obviously actuated by feelings of caste, creed and community and even of sub-castes. Thus the Muslims of this State have exhibited very clearly that the Muslim League is their sole representative organization. Members of the other communities have also realized this fact and therefore they sought the support of the Muslim League during the recent elections. Sir, you may be aware that more than 170 members have been given support by the League and more than 41 of them have come out successful with the support of the League. They realize now that if the League had not supported them, they would not have come out successful. This clearly shows how the Muslims stand by the League and how they consider it as their sole representative organization, which alone will effectively safeguard the rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution. Sir, I must also say that I am not unconscious of the fact that this threat of the President of the Congress has affected certain sections of the population among the minority communities. I have very painfully to point out that even cultured people have fallen a prey to that threat. For the purpose of getting back our election deposit, we have to affirm before a Revenue Officer not lower in rank than that of a Deputy Tahsildar,

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that our nomination has not been accepted in any other constituency. I had to do the same thing to get refund of my election deposit and I approached a Muslim Officer who may shortly become a District Collector. He has only to attest my signature. Do you know what the reply was that I got from him? He said: 'If I attest your signature I may be looked upon with suspicion by the Government.' That is what he said."

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar):—"I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Member. Unless there is documentary evidence to that effect, I do not think it is fair or proper to drag the name of any Government servant in this connexion."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—"I only mentioned that incident as an illustration of the general attitude and mentality of certain Muslim Officers of the Government. They are in a state of perpetual fear and fright. They are responsible persons who have to administer justice to the people and safeguard the rights of the citizens of the land irrespective of their political and religious complexion. They are now in a state of nervousness and fear. Can such a state of affairs be safe for democracy? I do not want to dwell on that further."

"Coming to the matter of Prohibition, there has been much talk on Prohibition. Mr. Chairman, I do know what your view in this matter is. But I may tell this House that so far as the members of my community are concerned, Prohibition is an article of faith with us. Throughout the centuries, Islam has stood for Prohibition and it has been the greatest Prohibition Association in the world. I hope that whatever Government may come into power, they will follow the Prohibition policy, and not whittle it down on the ground that there has been loss in revenue. I have repeatedly pointed out in this House that it is not loss of income, but only refusal to take tainted money, money which is got out of the miseries of the common man. Prohibition may have failed in certain places because of certain lacunae in the law and in its enforcement. It is the duty of the Government to fill up those lacunae and devise and set up a proper machinery for the successful enforcement of the Prohibition Act. The Government should not give it up on the ground that in certain places people have transgressed the law."

"I am very sorry that the Government have not done anything to stop betting on race horses. This gamble has been going on in the race course and even outside. In my first Budget speech I pleaded for the abolition of this evil which has been the cause for the ruination of several families. I was the first to advocate its abolition. Next year, Mr. Prakasam did not take credit for the income from the race course. A Bill was even published in the Gazette. It was not moved for a long time. Later, on account of pressure from us, the Bill was moved and passed into law. But Mr. Bhaktavatsalam who was in charge of the Bill, did not put

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any time-limit for the enforcement of the Act. He said that the Government would fix the time from which it would come into force. It is now more than four years since the Act was enacted and still it remains a dead letter. I do not know why this Government should be a party to the continuance of the miseries of hundreds of poor families, I appeal to the Government to give effect to this measure which has been duly passed by the Legislature and give relief to the suffering poor people.

“ With regard to the exploitation of lignite, *ad nauseam* I have repeated that the underground wealth of this State should be sufficiently tapped. Even now, the Government say that they have to consider about the expenditure of Rs. 1 crore for starting a pilot scheme in South Arcot. It is doubtful whether even that pilot scheme would be carried out next year. We have been repeatedly telling that if the mineral wealth of the State is sufficiently tapped, the standard of living of the people of the State will surely rise and that industrial development of the State would also be accelerated. It is amusing that they have set apart a sum of only Rs. 39 lakhs for the industrial development of the country.

“ There has been much talk about this 5-year plan. I have been asking how far this State will benefit by this plan. That plan does not contain one sentence about the exploitation of the underground wealth of this State. There is no mention of some of the important projects of our State like the Amaravati Project in that plan. Especially, about the Tamilnad portion of the State, we do not find mention of any proper project in the 5-year plan. For the Amaravati Project, the Government have collected betterment fee from the ryots. Now that project is not included and I learn that the money collected has been returned to the ryots. During the elections, one of the Congress candidates in Tirunelveli district was assuring the people that in Sankarankoil taluk the Ghiriyar Project would be executed and that he would have it done if he was elected. I had to tell the people that this project has not been included in the 5-year plan of the Government of India and not even in the 15-year plan of the Madras State and so they cannot expect the Government to execute that project.”

“ Sir, you are well aware of the Centre's attitude towards our State now as well as in the Constituent Assembly. Sir, you have yourself explained on many occasions that the voice of this State is not felt in the Centre at all. With regard to the industrial and agricultural development of this State, we do not get sufficient sympathy from the Centre. It is either because the Ministers of this State are not able effectively to bring the actual position to the notice of the Centre or those people at the Centre are not sympathetic towards us, as we are far away in the South. People now complain that the Centre has taken most of the powers of the State. What happened in the Constituent Assembly? When powers of the State were sought to be taken away by the Centre, we moved amendments after amendments. We requested the people from the South to support our amendments. They said, ‘ No ’. What is the position now?

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TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar) :—“ The hon. Member may kindly conclude his speech soon.” 1-15 p.m.

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ Sir, this morning a Hindu gentleman came to me and told me that the tomb within the compound of the Stanley Hospital was about to be removed to some other place. He is a journalist and he is a sub-editor in one of the leading dailies in Madras. Sir, the tomb has been there for the last one hundred years and more. It was built long before the Stanley Hospital was built; so, even legally speaking that cannot be disturbed now. Now the authorities say that the tomb is a nuisance. I would ask the Government whether it is proper to exhume the dead body of the saint who is being held in great veneration by all people. Hindus, Muslims and Christians alike are very much exercised over this move. They have been pleading with the Government against its removal. Representations were made several times and consequently the question of removal was postponed from time to time. I now understand that they are going to remove the tomb within a week's time. I would request the Government to give due regard to the feelings and sentiments of the people and not to act hurriedly. The existence of the tomb there does not interfere with the working of the hospital. Why should not the Government put up proper enclosures so that people who visit the tomb may not be a source of nuisance to the inmates of the hospital, in-patients, doctors and nurses if the Government consider it to be a nuisance? I would ask the Government to examine the question in a dispassionate manner and see that the feelings and sentiments of the people are not offended.”

* SRI K. NATARAJAN :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I could not but appreciate the point of order raised by my esteemed Lady Friend when the gentleman who preceded me was speaking. Of course his speech was more an election speech or a tirade against the previous Government than one containing any constructive suggestions as regards the Budget or the policy underlying the Budget. Now, the Congress has been in power for six years in this State as well as in other States. My own feeling is that even the Ministers who have been defeated have a feeling of despondency over their defeats and they are even expressing sentiments here and there against the policies which they themselves pursued while in office. They criticise Prohibition; they criticise the educational policy of the Government. Similarly, they talk against all other policies of the Government. To-day one Member of this House criticised every aspect of the policy which was pursued by the late Government during the last six years. When these criticisms were advanced, my mind was always thinking about a family and a village. For example, suppose in a family one member is a drunkard; another is a wastrel, the third is uneducated and the fourth unhealthy, what would the managing member of the family or the family collectively do? They will try to eradicate all these evils and with the best aid and funds at their disposal they will try in spite of all difficulties to get over them. They will try to make the

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family a happy one as far as possible. Similarly, in a village if the modes of communication, for instance, are defective, the villagers will try to rectify the defects. Now I humbly ask; can it be said, in spite of all the vehemence which has been expended upon this point by many Members, that the Congress Government have not done their duty or have not endeavoured to do their duty as best as they could so far as eradication of the several evils that face us is concerned?

" Prohibition, I would say, with due respect to certain Members who oppose it including certain ex-Ministers, has succeeded. The existence of certain evils noticed in the administration of Prohibition only emphasises the need for being on the alert so that the policy might be effectively carried out. Every one must consider, for at least ten minutes, what his own surroundings are or her own surroundings are? They must consider how many people were given to drink before Prohibition was introduced and how many people have been relieved of that vice after the advent of Prohibition. How many families, which had become poor on account of the wayward habits of their members, have begun to lead better lives to-day? Every Member, even within the limited time at his disposal, must consider all these facts. I beg to reiterate, Sir, with all the emphasis I can command that Prohibition has brought about some salvation, if not appreciable, to the entire population of the State.

" As regards the Firka Development Scheme, I would appeal to every villager and to every resident of the locality immediately to visualise his surroundings and see how many roads have been put up, how many canals have been dug and how many tanks have been repaired as a result of the introduction of these schemes. If we get a comprehensive view of the whole continent of India, it may be that the expenditure that is involved in these is out of all proportion to the results sought to be achieved. But has not something been done in every village and every firka to improve the lot of the villagers? However critical we may be of any policy of the Government, however, critical we may be about the acts of individual Ministers who have been entrusted with the management of the affairs of the Government, it is not proper that we should shut our eyes to what has been really achieved.

" After all what is the atmosphere around us? Forget this State for the time-being, and pause to consider what the reasons are for the people of other States to return a working majority for the Congress in the Legislatures. What are the causes of the success of the Congress in almost all States in India? Has not Congress been returned to power in the Centre? So, is it to be stated, simply because it has suffered defeats here and there, that Congress has been a failure and that people do not like it? Look at the method of calculating the number of votes polled by the respective parties and the conclusions arrived at. Here in this State if the total number of votes polled by parties other than the Congress is taken into account, can it be said that they have polled more votes

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than the Congress? Is it good arithmetic to say so? My only appeal to those who have been defeated, including some of the Ministers who have been defeated is, that they should not lose hope and talk ill of the policies which they have followed, which they were ordained to follow and to which they pledged themselves. Let them do a little introspection and see what their own conduct was in carrying out the policies of the Government. Let them consider if they have been impartial in the discharge of their duties and there is no use blaming the policy of the Congress. Therefore, I wholeheartedly support the policy of the Government pursued in the last six years.

“ One hon. Member was saying that in the Budget mention must have been made about the achievements of the Government in the last five years and the progress that is to be made in the next year. True. There is some force in that argument. But are we not given pamphlets, periodicals, etc., quarterly or half-yearly besides the journal published by the Government monthly? We have had the ‘ three years ’ achievements, ‘ five years ’ achievements ’ and so on. These are certainly useful documents . . . ”

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ They give only the programme of the Government. What about results? ”

* SRI K. NATARAJAN :—“ If my hon. Friend and Members of his line of thinking had had some patience in going through the several pamphlets issued and published by the Government from time to time, they would have noticed that mention was made about the results also. I am only concentrating my attention on the results achieved so far. Can the hon. Member say that these books contain only programmes and nothing else? Can he say that plans mentioned in them have not been effectively carried out at least to some extent?

“ Sir, Members of the Opposition in this Council except one or two of them, I must gratefully admit, have not been hypercritical about the policy of the Government. They have in fact, wherever necessary, supported the Government. They have always given careful and well-considered counsel to the Government and I may add that even on this side of the House, so far as we are concerned, in spite of the pledges and in spite of the whips that have been issued to us, we have always been critical of the policy and the acts of the Government and we have pointed out then and there, much to the chagrin of some of the Ministers, the defects in their policies. We must all strive to work for the good of the people and not bring into such matters all sorts of petty and personal squabbles which have been the cause of the defeat of the Congress in getting a working majority in this State. Let me now turn to the general results in the recent elections. I do not mean any reflection on any party—there are stalwart men in every party, good men to lead the party—when I ask ‘ can any party, looking at the results, be now said to be in a position to carry on the administration? ’ There are

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parties with a strength of 20 or 30 or 40. Have they got an organized party to come forward before the public? Have they got apart from the Congress, an acceptable programme? Have they got a common organization? Can they form an effective coalition that may be successful in this State? It is no wonder that Governments are defeated. Even in England and America Governments get defeated. Ministers are defeated at election. But what is the reason there? Certainly not the one that we have seen here. The Congress has been defeated here because of differences of opinion among its ranks. I do not want to use pungent remarks. I would only attribute the defeat to differences of opinion. I would, therefore, entreat all the gentlemen who had been in the Congress and who had been in charge of the Administration as Members of the Government not to hereafter put forward views which are against their own actions in the past as Congressmen. The hon. Member Mr. Ibrahim said that some of the speeches here seemed to be another edition of what the Members of the Opposition have been saying all the while. That is not the attitude one should take. I am of course getting out of the field and it is necessary for me to refer to myself. I would appeal to the hon. Members of the Council and the public at large that they must endeavour to help and to co-operate with the Government in the carrying out of their policies.

1-30 P.m. “ So far as the Budget is concerned, I share the remarks made by the hon. Member Mr. Ibrahim that it may not be quite necessary for us to dwell upon details of the Budget. In fact I have been doing that during the past four or five years. This year's Budget is a fair budget and I must congratulate my Hon. Friend Sri Shetty for bringing in this statement in such a short time that was at his disposal. This is certainly likely to be recast by whatever Government may come into office hereafter, Congress, Coalition or any other. As far as it goes it only continues the plans and policies that have already been adopted. Here and there it might be said that sufficient moneys have not been provided for some purpose or other. As a care-taker Government presenting a deficit budget they have allotted only sums that may not be considered wasteful expenditure. Therefore I think the Budget is very commendable. The next Government may initiate new policies and place them before the House for discussion.

“ Sir, I humbly submit that unless there is a parallel policy put forward which is not divergent from the policy of the Congress and unless they have a sufficient majority no party, not only in this State but throughout India, can carry out their policies on a country-wide scale. There is no use in concentrating on the present debacle or the defeat of the Congress in not getting an overall majority in this State and saying all sorts of things and discouraging people who are in the Congress and who eagerly and seriously want to work out the policy.”

The House then rose for lunch.

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(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

(2) PRESENTATION OF SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF
EXPENDITURE FOR 1951-52.

* THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I present the second supplementary statement of Demands for Grants for further expenditure in the year 1951-52 and Detailed Estimates thereof. Copies of the Statement of Demands and the Estimates have been laid on the Table of the House.

"As the House is aware, the first supplementary statement for this official year was approved by the Legislature in October 1951 and it related to new service schemes which were sanctioned or proposed to be sanctioned by the Government early in the year and for which only token sums were obtained from the Legislature in the Revenue and the Capital Accounts. As explained in the Introductory Memorandum, the present supplementary demands relate to—

(a) Schemes of expenditure already provided for in the budget for 1951-52 and schemes approved by the Legislature in connexion with the first supplementary statement of demands for grants voted in October 1951, for which additional provision is now required with reference to the expenditure already incurred or expected to be incurred before the end of the year; and

(b) 'New Service' schemes sanctioned by the Government in the latter part of this year, which were not included in the first supplementary statement of demands for grants for this year.

"In the latter class of cases, the demand proposed is for the actual additional appropriation required to meet the expenditure in the current year on individual schemes, after taking into account the savings now anticipated in the concerned Grants. Where sufficient savings are expected, the demand proposed is only for a token sum of Rs. 100.

"The estimated expenditure in 1951-52 in respect of 'new service' schemes included in the present statement is relatively small—Rs. 49.43 lakhs in the Revenue Account and Rs. 0.54 lakhs in the Capital Account. This expenditure is covered by advances sanctioned from the Madras Contingency Fund, pending regularization by the Legislature. But most of the Demands proposed are in respect of larger expenditure on items provided for in the Budget for 1951-52 and approved by the Legislature, due to various causes, as explained in the Detailed Estimates.

"There are in all 32 Demands pertaining to the Revenue Account, including one wholly 'charged' item, involving a total sum of Rs. 660.12 lakhs under 'voted' and Rs. 46.60 lakhs under 'charged'. Under Capital Account there are six Demands involving a total sum of Rs. 98.58 lakhs under 'voted' expenditure alone. A sum of Rs. 172.96 lakhs is also proposed under Loans and Advances by the State Government. The total of all the supplementary demands including 'charged' items works out to nearly Rs. 10

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crores. This may at first sight appear large but it is less than one-half of the total amount of the supplementary estimate presented last March (about Rs. 22 crores). As explained in the Introductory Memorandum, the total of the present Demands does not represent a corresponding increase in the total budget appropriation for the year. Against the additional demands now included, savings or credits are anticipated to the extent of nearly Rs. 1 crore in the Revenue Account and Rs. 7 crores in the Capital Account. The amount of the Supplementary Demands has not been reduced with reference to these savings, as no re-appropriation is permissible from one Grant to another or between 'charged' and 'voted' items.

"Further, most of the increased expenditure has been allowed for in the Revised Estimate for 1951-52 already presented to the Legislature.

"The important supplementary Demands pertaining to the Revenue Account are the following :—

Grant X—State Legislature (Rs. 37.73 lakhs).—The expenditure on General Elections has been much larger than originally anticipated.

Grant XIV—Police (Rs. 81.53 lakhs).—The additional demand is mainly for the increased expenditure on travelling allowances and on feeding and transport charges of the Armed Reserve in connection with the general elections.

Grant XVI—Medical (Rs. 29.06 lakhs).—The additional appropriation is required for meeting the increase in the cost of diet, medicines and other hospital necessities in the various hospitals in the City and the mufassal, including those newly taken over from local bodies.

Grant XVII—Public Health (Rs. 45.22 lakhs).—Larger expenditure has been incurred mainly on digging wells in rural areas, having regard to the prevailing drought conditions.

Grant XVIII—Agriculture (Rs. 114.99 lakhs).—The additional appropriation is asked for mainly on account of the purchase of agricultural machinery, such as tractors, bull-dozers, oil-engines and pumpsets and in connexion with the scheme of purchase and distribution of seeds.

Grant XXVII—Civil Works—Grants-in-aid (Rs. 42.24 lakhs).—The increased expenditure is mainly on account of the sanction of large grants for famine relief works undertaken by certain district boards at the instance of the Government, to provide employment to distressed agricultural labourers, affected by the adverse seasonal conditions. This is in addition to the expenditure directly incurred by the Government on running gruel centres, etc., for which there is a separate Demand.

Grant XXVIII—Electricity (Rs. 84.27 lakhs).—The additional appropriation is required for the operation and maintenance expenses of electrical undertakings acquired by the Government.

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Grant XXX—Pensions (Rs. 28.99 lakhs).—The increase in expenditure is mainly on account of larger commutation of pensions and payment of contribution to be made by the Government in arrears in respect of past service of their employees, who have joined the new scheme of Pension-cum-Provident Fund Insurance.

“Turning to the Capital Account, the main item is Rs. 94.90 lakhs which represents the deposits to be made before 31st March 1952, towards the advance compensation due in respect of Inam estates taken over by the Government in October and November 1951.

“Under disbursement of loans and advances, the Demand of nearly Rs. 2 crores has been necessitated on account of the grant of large takkavi loans to agriculturists, as a consequence of adverse seasonal conditions.

“I am aware that the presentation of large supplementary Demands for Grants towards the end of the year may invite adverse criticism, as in past years. Apart from the difficulty of accurate budgetting in respect of various items more than a year in advance, in these abnormal times, it should be remembered that the additional demands are necessitated by the progressive policy followed by the Government in respect of nation building departments, e.g., Education, Medical and Public Health, Agriculture, Communications, Irrigation and Electricity. The maintenance of Law and Order is also one major contributing factor for the increased expenditure.

“I would stress again that the total of the present supplementary estimate is much less than that of last year.

“With these words, I commend the Supplementary Estimates for the acceptance of the House.”

(1) GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—
cont.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House will now continue the General Discussion on the Budget.

* DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, as I was reading the reports on the discussion of the Budget in the other House and as I sat listening to the speeches of hon. Members on both sides of this House, I felt there was an air of unreality in the whole proceedings of this House on this occasion. I must confess that I am not sure whom I am addressing and for what purpose. This is a most unfortunate fact that on this occasion the Budget for the year is being presented by an attenuated Cabinet of five Members two of whom are not responsible for the present discussion of the Budget. So that it comes to this that only three Members who are themselves not sure whether they will be held responsible or hold themselves responsible for the presentation of this Budget this year are presenting the budget to this House and the other House. I am referring to this because it seems to me that this should not be taken as a

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precedent when in fact it could have been avoided and adjusted, when indeed the results of the elections having been announced as early as the end of January there was no justifiable reason why a proper Ministry should not have been envisaged which could have dealt with the whole of the Budget and presented it in an authorised form.

“ Sir, there is another fact which perhaps makes it all the more regrettable that a budget like this should have been presented. Whatever may be the Government that may be formed consequent upon the rules of procedure laid down in the Constitution, it seems to me that there will be little or no chance for that Government in anyway to mark any change or interfere in the presentation of the Budget. There is the theoretical possibility that a successor Government may not see eye to eye with this particular budget and may have therefore a full opportunity to change the Budget. But a careful perusal of the Budget as it has been presented will make it obvious that with a deficit budget, which is deficit only to a meagre extent now and which may become larger if other factors are taken into account, it is hardly capable of large change for the better. The financial figures that have been given to us are themselves subject to a great deal of variation, whether on the revenue side or the expenditure side. On the revenue side it is expected that there will be a fall. I am very glad the Hon. Finance Minister referred to this question. With remissions that have necessarily to be given owing to a large part of the country being affected by famine, with the sudden fall in the prices of commodities—a welcome relief to the poor and the middle-classes—and consequent reduction in sales-tax, the famine relief which has got to be attended to immediately by the provision of large funds, and with the reduction that has been anticipated even in other quarters like the income-tax a portion of which was expected to be given to this State, I do not see how it will be possible for the budget to be changed in such a manner as to promote any large schemes of welfare in this State.

2-45
P.m.

“ Sir, a great deal of controversy has been going on with regard to the formation of the Ministry, with regard to the aftermath of elections and with regard to the causes that led to the failure of this or that particular party. It seems to me that in all these discussions much is sought to be made out of the elections and very little credit has been given to those Parliamentary conventions that are to guide those responsible for the conduct and formation of Government. After all is said and done, the vagaries of the ballot boxes are well-known and the failure or success of any particular party is not a matter of such supreme concern as to make one wear sack cloth and ashes or make apologies. It is one of the fundamental principles of democratic Government that elections must necessarily vary the fortunes of political parties. But, Sir the democratic principles that are to guide all those, whether they are returned in large numbers or in small numbers, are so clearly laid down and have been more or less brought to the forefront by a series of conventions in well-organized democratic countries that

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there seems to be little justification for the amount of confusion that is prevailing even in responsible quarters as to what should happen under the circumstances. I do not know whether all the causes that have been mentioned are in a measure responsible for the defeat of the particular Ministry and the Party in power in this particular State. It is, no doubt, true that time and again efforts had been made to persuade the Treasury Bench to see that certain of their policies were changed.

“ Sir, a good deal has been said about Prohibition—views both for and against had been mentioned and some have stoutly defended the policy of Prohibition. Let me make it clear that nobody is going to argue about the fundamental principle of Prohibition but what is subject to a great deal of criticism is the particular manner in which Prohibition is sought to be enforced in this country, the results of the enforcement of Prohibition in this country and the wide divergence between the policy pursued by the party in this State and the policy pursued by the same party in many other States. If Prohibition has failed, it has failed because the very party that is responsible for the rigid enforcement of this policy in this State is not responsible for pursuing a similar policy wherever it is in power. I have not yet heard of any single party in any democratic country which has got such a varied front in regard to a fundamental question like Prohibition. My friends argued that Prohibition had brought about a great deal of good. Nobody need deny that but why is it that this policy has not been pursued by many a State which has got a similar majority or a greater majority and which is of the same political view as the party that is in power. Apart from that, Sir, let me make this point clear. It has been well said that a second rate law is better enforced if it can be enforced through the people at large than a first rate law which cannot be enforced and which is deliberately disobeyed by the people. Members may have felt somewhat puzzled by the manner in which ex-Ministers have referred to this—not the policy of Prohibition but the actual working of the Prohibition. I am very glad that sufficient testimony has been placed before the House by those who are responsible, to make it quite clear that in the working of the policy of Prohibition, there have been such great lapses that one seriously considers whether it is worthwhile following such a policy till such time that it will be possible to bring into being a working plan—a definite and positive plan—for the enforcement of Prohibition. It has been suggested that illicit drinking has been going on, that illicit tapping has been going on, that illicit brewing has been going on and that, as a matter of fact, it has come to this stage when it has almost become a cottage industry and, what is worse, women and sometimes boys and girls have learnt the habit of drinking. I myself ventured to suggest certain methods by which a gradual enforcement of Prohibition can be brought about but those words were wasted in the desert air. I am now complaining about that. When you find that a law is being disobeyed and that a great deal of illegal methods are being recognised as perfectly lawful by a section of the public, one must necessarily turn one's attention and ask the question,

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'What is the remedy for this state of affairs?' and that question has got to be asked by any Government that may sit on the Treasury Bench because to-day your Prohibition laws are so very rigid—they are Draconian laws that cannot be found in the Statute Book of any democratic country in the world—and yet Prohibition has been a failure. That is the reason why people have criticised it. My friend Mr. Ibrahim, who is not here, as usual said a great deal about religion and Prohibition. I do not want again to go into that question but I will only state that in the Islamic State next door prohibition has not yet found a place in the Statute Book.

"Sir, similarly there had been a good deal of criticism about controls. You can establish controls if you have got the necessary machinery and method of satisfactory fulfilment of the policy of controls but when that machinery is hopelessly inadequate and hopelessly futile, many people asked, "Is it controls that you are enforcing or is it only paper controls that are being enforced?"

"Sir, the period of five or six years that this party has been in power has seen many changes. I am not one of those who wish to suggest that a great deal has not been done. On the other hand, I have repeatedly emphasised that certain trends in the policy of the party in power have had an unfortunate effect and will continue to have an unfortunate effect. You can never work a party and be in a position to command the loyalty and the respect of the country, if, at every stage, you have to placate the members of your own party by methods that are far from reasonable, by attitudes that cannot be justified and by incentives which ought not to find a place in any decent society. I venture to state that this is a deliberate conclusion arrived at by many people who have watched the methods pursued with regard to the treatment that is meted out to the members of the party and to the members of the other side. But after all is said and done, I do feel that the party has been the sufferer owing to the vicissitudes of fortune and more owing to the attitude that was adopted by those in power, to the Ministry and to the party generally. I had referred to it on a former occasion. Sir, I was very much struck by the speech that was made by the ex-Chief Minister Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar who in a very blunt manner brought out this fact that no Ministry can command the confidence of the public, if at every stage it is understood that that Ministry has to be directed, controlled, advised, guided and influenced by those who have no responsibility whatsoever to the Legislature where such a Ministry has to function. I make a point of this so that in future at any rate the tendency may not evince itself in the same manner in which it has evinced itself so far. Whether it is so or not, the utterances of the Ministers themselves have led the public to the belief that they are powerless and that at every stage they have to wait for the directives not only from the person in authority but from every Member in the Central Government for this or that particular policy to be followed and, what is worse, from the very Secretaries of those Members sometimes—as record-

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ed in the Press reports and Conferences that are frequently held. I had ventured to suggest on a former occasion that the duty of the Ministers, first and foremost, is to the Legislature. Their loyalty is to this Legislature and certainly in accordance with the general policies which may be laid down by the party as a whole. They should so conduct themselves that they would show that they have an independent grip and an independent opinion on all matters of great concern to this State. I do hope that it will be possible in the future, at any rate, that such a course of action is adopted.

“ Now, Sir, there has been a great deal of controversy with regard to the future formation of the Ministry. I should not refer to it but for the fact that it has got a bearing on the Budget that has been presented. If only the democratic principles had been accepted, this question should not have arisen at all. The formation of the Ministry is the Governor's responsibility under Article 164 (1). I see many people are trying to act for the Governor and form their own Ministers and demand their own Ministries. Sir, this is not the first time in a democratic Assembly when a party in power has come in an attenuated strength. We have many instances where the party in power have come in in such numbers that it cannot form a Ministry by itself with an over-all majority over all other parties. One has only to refer to the history of the Parliament in England. During the days of Gladstone and Disraeli, there was, as you very well know, an Irish Bloc—a Bloc which was quite a solidified bloc—and neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals of those days had an outright majority over the whole House. They had to depend, when they came to power, on this Irish Bloc. Very often, it was the Irish Bloc that influenced the policy of the Government in certain matters. It was the Irish Bloc that forced Gladstone finally to evolve a policy with regard to the Irish Home Rule. So the possibility of a party which has not got an over-all majority in a House to undertake the responsibility of Ministry is not ruled out by precedents. It has been suggested that the defeat of Ministers is an indication that that party cannot come into power. Even here the precedents in the past do not support that view. Mr. Asquith himself when he was Prime Minister was defeated and he had to seek election again. A party's fortunes, therefore, do not depend upon individuals, but they depend upon the fact that that party is prepared or otherwise to take up office. Now, let me not be misunderstood. My object in referring to this is that when the elections are over, it should have been possible for the Governor immediately to call a person who is to be the leader of that party. It will not be possible for the Governor to wait for the convenience of the party to discuss this question for two months and then decide, when they have quietly settled down to the view that they should elect a leader, to call him. The Governor of the State should have forced whichever party he wanted to be given the responsibility to seek the advice of the leader and to appoint him as the Chief Minister. That is what the Constitution provides. It does not provide that a whole Cabinet be appointed immediately. It should be the duty of the Chief Minister to form the Cabinet and to submit those names to

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His Excellency the Governor. I regret, Sir, that so much time should have been spent uselessly in creating more of embitterment, in creating more of confusion and in creating more of a whirlwind campaign of one kind or other—quite unnecessary and unsuited for the present purpose. The question has been asked, whether in the absence of the formation of the Legislative Council, a Ministry such as that could be formed? It is a matter for the party that is called in to decide when and how the constitution of the Cabinet may be changed when the Council is formed. The Ministry is responsible to the Legislative Assembly in more sense than one and it is not necessary that the Council should be formed completely to enable the Ministry to be called to function.

“The question may be asked, if such a Ministry is called in, what is the possibility of its functioning? It is a matter which the House will decide. There is no reason to anticipate what will happen. All those people who are anxious to form an alternative Government have every possibility of defeating the Ministry on the very first occasion, consolidating their strength and coming to the Treasury Benches. I would go further and say that the Governor may, in his discretion, call not merely the party that has been returned in the largest number comparatively but may call any other person; it is the individual that may be called; it may be that the Governor may be inclined to call my friend who threatened us with dire consequences if he were not given the responsibility of forming the Government and it may well be that the Governor may leave it to him to form the Government. There is no reason why the Governor's discretion in the matter should at all be circumscribed by these discussions that have taken place. But if you take examples of Parliamentary Government and how the Constitution has worked in a country which will, for all time to come, be an example for democratic assemblies to copy, I say, the only method for the Governor is to call the single largest party and give them the option or opportunity to state whether they will shoulder the responsibility of forming the Government.

“Sir, the suggestion is being put forward that instead of anything being done, the Governor's rule should come into force. Now, Sir, I have examined the provisions of the Constitution. It is true that Governor's rule, under the direction of the President, can come under Article 356 (1). But the language of that Article makes it quite clear that an emergency must have arisen before the Governor can ever think of such a possibility and so far as anyone can see, no such emergency has arisen.

3 p.m.

“It may arise in the future, one cannot say, but at present it is wrong for anybody to suggest that Governor's rule should come in this Province. In fact, Sir, it is not only in regard to the formation of the Ministry, but also in regard to all those acts that have to be done, people are thinking that there must be an absolute majority. It is quite possible that a Ministry without an absolute majority may be tolerated in office. I do not see any reason why it should not be done. For a group of people, who are interested

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in seeing that a certain form of Government is maintained for the welfare of the country, it is not at all necessary that a Ministry which is set up in office must have an absolute majority to run the Government. This block like the Irish Bloc—the bloc of Independents, for instance—may so conduct themselves that they may be prepared to keep a Ministry in office so long that Ministry, in their opinion, conducts itself in a manner that is not repugnant to their sense of what is best in the interests of the country; and, if that Ministry does not conduct itself in such a manner, that bloc may withdraw its support and the Ministry will fall. So, on these grounds, I feel the constitutional position is one that is so clear that, but for the fact that politicians and leaders of so-called parties have unfortunately little or no knowledge of Parliamentary conventions, all this confusion would not have occurred.

“ To ask an Independent member who has fought you tooth and nail, who has suffered and spent many an hour of grave unhappiness to come and sign your pledge is, I think, the height of folly. If such an Independent member was, after fighting a political partisan, to go and sign the pledge, he signs off his character as a politician worth mentioning. (Hear, hear.) But, it is one thing not to sign the pledge and it is quite another thing to say that under the circumstances, for the sake of the country, in the best interests of the country, I am prepared to stand by and see how you are going to conduct yourself taking all the lessons of the election to heart.

I am not one of those who can at any time pretend to advise this or that party but, I am one who is vitally interested, not in Ministries. For, what does it matter who sits on the Treasury Benches? These are fleeting fortunes which do not interfere with the real state of the country or its real prospects. What does it matter, if the fundamental principles on which a democratic constitution should be based are fulfilled? And, it is for this reason, I suggest that a little more of careful thought should be devoted by those who are real politicians. A statement was made by a leader of a certain party that if the Congress party does not command a majority, it must ally itself with the next biggest party, the Communists. How can you do that? Such a state of affairs reveals an elementary school boy's attitude to politics which, I regret, should not be present in one, who holds such a responsible office. Sir, I am sorry to have to refer to these but my only object is that at present we are in a very serious state of affairs. There is no use denying it. The country is passing through a crisis. This State of Madras is passing through a crisis. Embittered feelings have been roused and it must be the duty of everybody to see that something is done to assuage these feelings so that you can get a Government which may run on for some time.

“ Here again, let me say that I am surprised at the idea of some persons speaking of a stable Government. A stable Government in a democracy is a contradiction in terms. No Government can be stable. Though a Government may come in with a huge majority, it may not be stable. Here is the example in our own State. A Government which came with a huge majority became

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unstable twice over within a period of five years, whether that instability was due to re-formation of Ministries or to other causes. The attitude of mind that thinks of a stable Government in a democratic constitution is an attitude of mind which has not understood the fundamental principles of democracy. Sir, it is not for me or men of my way of thinking, to offer advice to Governors and Presidents. There is one thing that I wish to reiterate and that emphatically. Let us not, because for the present we have got a certain set-up which makes it possible to do so, feel that it is safe to guide Governors. Governors and Presidents have got to work on their individual responsibility, particularly in these matters where they cannot share that responsibility with any party leader or with any group of persons. It will be for the Governor to find out what the possibilities are and to find out also with what confidence he can possibly ask any particular person to share, to take the responsibility of administering the affairs of this Province. I venture to think, if people thought more of the difficulties of the situation, of the responsibilities and the grave duties that devolve on them and less of the power that will accrue to them by accepting office, they will hesitate far more in these difficult days and in these trying times to shoulder that responsibility and to attack people for various reasons in different manners. Sir, having said that—I said that merely because of my grave anxiety that proper principles of democracy may not be followed, let me say a few words about this Budget.

“As I said, it is an unreal Budget presented by an unreal Cabinet and discussed by unreal people in this House. Not all of us can be in this House, so that altogether it is the most extraordinary situation that has arisen, a situation without a parallel of its kind in any country. One of the main difficulties of the past administration has been an anxiety to take up too many things at one stretch, an anxiety to load themselves with too much of financial burdens—it may be a number of excellent projects—but not within the resources of the State. The result is they have been waiting Micawber-like on the Central Government and the more they waited on the Central Government the greater was the pressure exerted on them to conduct themselves in a manner that befitted school boys of a past generation. If only some of these schemes had been taken in a proper perspective and a limited number had been taken within the resources of the Government, we would not have found ourselves in this State. One of the fundamental principles that were laid down, more than half a century ago by that great economist and politician, Gopalakrishna Gokhale, was that in the matter of Capital Works current revenue should not be utilized. It was an excellent principle which, I see, the present Finance Minister of the Central Government has discarded with a very light heart. The reason behind that principle is obvious that if there is a Capital Work to be undertaken, the result emanating out of that Capital Work, the benefits accruing out of it, will be the good fortune of succeeding generations to enjoy and to that extent therefore the distribution of the burden as a whole should

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be spread out over succeeding generations. To think of taking current revenues for large major works of this sort is certainly not sound finance.

"The Hon. the Finance Minister in a short and excellent speech has revealed to us the fact that our major sources of revenue such as the Sales Tax and the Motor Vehicles Tax have reached the stage of peak outturn and a downward trend may set in. I say it will set in. He then says that, so far as capital expenditure is concerned, there is a system by which about two and a half crores of the current revenue may be taken for Capital Works and in some years, larger sums have been taken. If the Malampuzha Project in Malabar has been temporarily suspended, it is because too many other works have been taken up and even for a small work of that nature, we have to wait with humbleness on the Central Government to sanction funds. I am one of those who have always pleaded for a certain amount of autonomy for the States and even if we have to tighten our belts more and more, it is consistent with our self-respect and dignity to maintain that autonomy rather than allow the dispensation of a few crumbs to affect the fortunes of our times and conduct. The whole of Rayalaseema is famine-ridden. Everybody knows it. There is no question whatsoever, whether it be a report from the Collector or whether it be a report from other sources, the thing is staring us in the face. The Government go about examining these things. Ministers go about; a report is sent, but that report is not given the due credence it ought to have. It is necessary that verification should be made by the Centre. This attitude of mind at once reveals to the people that there is something rotten in the State of Denmark! How is the word of a Central Minister any more authoritative than that of a Minister of the State? One could have easily displaced the other! I do feel, Sir, that there must be more of a reasonableness, more of the spirit of confidence evoked and more of trust in those who are entrusted with these tasks. I do not know ultimately what is going to happen to Rayalaseema and to many other areas where such famine conditions are prevailing, but I would say that whatever may be the response of the centre, whether they are going to abolish altogether the bonus for procurement, the people of this State must make up their minds that they will do their utmost by their countrymen. I would make an appeal particularly to those who are in a better position to tighten up their belt and give the people of Rayalaseema what they so direly require. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that this is not trying to create any differences or difficulties in the way. If we are to guide the destinies of the State for the welfare of the people at large, we must depend, by and large, on our efforts.

"There are many things which one can refer to. I mean no offence at all to my esteemed friends on the Treasury Bench when I say that in discussing the Budget, we would like to have an opportunity, once and for all, to address those who may, for a year at least, control the destinies of the State. One particular thing, however, has struck my attention very much. You may remember,

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Sir, that Government brought in a Bill to levy taxes on commercial crops and a good deal was said on that occasion by the then Finance Minister. I was one of those who had the temerity to get up and suggest that it would be wrong on the part of the Government to levy this tax just because, for the time being, the commercial crops were having a large margin of profit, earned not in this country, mind you, but in the foreign markets. Fortunately, I am grateful to the Government on this occasion that, that measure was withdrawn. What has happened now? Within a few months, the prices of commercial crops have fallen suddenly. The other day I was in Malabar. The growers of pepper and copra have almost been ruined because of the speculative enterprise so dominant in the commercial community when profits are being earned. It is, therefore, necessary for the Government to take due note of taxation measures and the principle of the Finance Minister should be not to get a maximum out of taxes irrespective of any other consideration, not to kill the goose that lays the golden egg, not to get on with the principle of increasing taxation and diminishing return in the course of a few years, but to levy taxation in such a manner that it will be an equitable burden on all classes of people—the rich and the poor and the middle classes—to the extent to which they can afford paying taxes and in a manner that will benefit the society. Sir, we are in a position now when the demands of the people have got to be met. Time and again reference has been made to the very distressing conditions of Government servants, particularly those who have been called ‘non-gazetted officers’, a horrible appellation which, I hope, will not be continued long. I see no reason why they should not be called ‘Civil Servants—Class I, Class II or Class III’ or whatever you may call it—instead of appearing to create one more caste division—ridden as we are with caste prejudices. The gazette comes to me every week, thanks to my membership, but I hardly think it worthwhile wasting my time to go through it. I do not see any reason why these people should not be looked upon as being as much responsible for the efficiency of the Government, if not more responsible, than the officers who direct from above the work that is to be done. I do feel, Sir, that the time has come when something should be done for these classes of service so as to mitigate the great hardship that has befallen them in these difficult days of rising spiral of prices and lower returns. One of the things that I do feel that the past Government has not taken sufficient care of, is the multiplication of officers of all grades without any control whatsoever worth mentioning. I remember the old degenerate days when if a peon or a lower division clerk was to be appointed, the matter had to go right up to the Cabinet and get discussed. Now thousands of appointments have literally been made on the ground that this or that policy requires it—Prohibition policy requires it; control policy requires it; producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies based on the treaty of the lion and the lamb and similar other various fantastic schemes require very large staff. The result is that you are not able to pay properly

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any of them. The services would work more efficiently, would be much more loyal and would certainly be in a happier position if you had a smaller number of people to do that same work to-day, if you had looked after their reasonable comforts and if you had not been less charitable to them than the other employers of labour, whom you command with such light alacrity. An Industrial Tribunal in Coimbatore said that every scavenger working in an industry should be paid a minimum wage of Rs. 60. It was accepted by the Government and enforced. Would the Hon. Revenue Minister be prepared to accept the advice that he has forced, or that his colleagues have forced? The Government want industry to give housing for all labourers. Very rightly too! What do the Government do themselves? They increase offices. They have rent control. They distribute all these controls in such a manner that persons who want houses to live in, have no houses. How can they possibly feel anything but a sense of frustration, and a sense of feeling that the Government have not treated them well.

“ Sir, I am sorry that the Hon. ex-Minister for Education is not here. If he had been here, I should have expressed my very great gratitude to him for all that he has done. It is unfortunate that he took upon himself the responsibility of moving two of the most contentious measures, the Malabar Tenancy Bill and the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill. In the field of education, he has done well, and I am very grateful to him. It is curious that some of the measures that this Government passed have reacted as a boomerang. The Zamindari Abolition Bill was passed with great gusto by my hon. Friend, the ex-Minister of Revenue, Sri Kala Venkata Rao. The result of the passing of the Zamindari Abolition Bill has been that in that area, hardly any Congressman has been returned. Likewise in Malabar hardly any Congressman has been returned. I should like some investigation to be made as to the causes of the unfortunate debacle in the fortunes of the party in power and after all, as I have seen it, in West Godavari, East Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts, the number of Congressmen that have been returned can be counted on one's fingers.

— “ There are many problems which I wanted to bring to the notice of the Government; but I think I must defer doing so for a future occasion so that whatever has to be said may receive some little consideration at some favourable time and some auspicious day. I have recently had the painful necessity of perusing a little press note that has been released by the Government in regard to the recognition of degrees. I do not know who has been responsible for this and what the implications are of this recognition of degrees. The Government have directed that for purposes of educational qualifications prescribed for appointment to the State and subordinate services in this State the qualifications of Alankar Degree of the Gurukul University, Kangri, Hardwar, Shastri Degree of Kashi Vidyapith, Benares, and the Jamia Sanadi Degree of the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, be recognized as equivalent to the B.A.

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Degree of Madras, Andhra or Annamalai Universities. The Press Note further says 'The Jamia Senior Examination of the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, will be deemed as equivalent to the Intermediate examination of the Madras, Andhra or Annamalai Universities. The B.Ed. Degree (Teachers' training after graduation) of Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, will be recognized as equivalent to the B.T. Degree of the University of Madras or the B.Ed. Degree of the Andhra University.

"Orders have also been issued that the Vidyavinodini examination of the Prayag Mahila Vidyapitha, Allahabad, be recognized as equivalent to the minimum general educational qualifications specified for the Madras State and Subordinate Services, provided that the candidate who has passed the said examination, has taken Advanced English as one of the optional subjects and that she produces proof to the satisfaction of the Madras Public Service Commission in cases where appointment has to be made in consultation with it, or the appointing authority in other cases, that she has adequate knowledge of one of the languages of the Madras State.' Now I am not going to enter into any discussion with the Government if they fix any qualifications for appointments in the State Services unconnected with educational activities. But, if as I read it, this recommendation implies that the Government have fixed these qualifications as sufficient for educational institutions, I raise a strong voice of protest as they have not consulted the educational authorities, the Universities concerned. My esteemed friend, the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University wrote to me a letter only yesterday as to whether I had received this communication and whether the Government had consulted me or anybody connected with the Universities like the Inter-University Board, before they passed the order that the B.Ed. Degree of a particular institution is to be recognized as equivalent to the B.T. or B.Ed. Degree of one or the other of the Universities of our State. I once again beseech Government not to try to interfere with the Universities in their very difficult task of maintaining standards. When even statutorily constituted Universities ask for recognition of their Degrees, we refer them to the Inter-University Board for a close scrutiny. How comes it this Government has laid down the law—if I am wrong, I shall apologise—without consulting any educational authorities whatsoever in regard to these Degrees. I only hope, Sir, that the Government will not bring this particular recognition question into force in any of the educational institutions whether they are under their control or not. I would see to it that before any such attempt is made the duly constituted authorities on educational matters are given the opportunity to express themselves. In fact, these institutions have already applied and the Government's policy should have been to refer them to the particular bodies concerned like the Inter-University Board and then take their advice. I am bringing this to the notice of the Government in the full hope that they will look into the matter and see what can be done.

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“ Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to detain the House any longer. Somebody has said that the sands of time are running fast. True! We have not realised the world forces that are at work. We think glibly of this or that particular activity which may probably for the time being help us to this or that particular position. I have always felt that for the successful working of democracy and for the continuance of democracy, the party system as it is now obtaining in this and other countries is the biggest hindrance. That may only be a theoretical view. We have all got to realize that whatever party we may belong to—and I think it is six of the one and a half dozen of the other as I have seen them working during the last five and a half years—if we cannot see to it that these parties are dominated by persons who have an altruistic frame of mind and who can so work that they command the confidence of the bulk of the people by their public activities and by their sense of honourable conduct, the future of democracy in this country is by no means bright. And if that future is by no means assured, then it is not only India but the whole of Asia that will suffer and world conflagration will be the end.

“ One last word, Sir. Mr. Chairman, to me it has been a great privilege to have had the opportunity of serving here as a Member of this House and under your Chairmanship. You were not here this forenoon when member after member wanted me to convey his or her grateful appreciation for all that you have done to maintain the dignity of this House. Let me add my humble tribute as an individual member of this House who has had no party affiliations that I have greatly respected and honoured you for the wisdom, the forethought and the kindness and the spirit of comradeship and friendship that you have always exercised in the discharge of your difficult duties. I hope and pray that abundant opportunities will be given to you to show your talents in other spheres and that you will not take amiss the temporary vicissitudes of a very nebulous ballot-box. Thank you.”

* SRI L. SUBBARAMA REDDI:—“ అధ్యక్షా, మధ్యపాన నిషేధం గురించి ఇప్పుడు చాలా తర్జనభర్జనలు జరుగుచున్నవి. దీనివల్ల ప్రజలకు ఏమీ సహాయము జరుగుటలేదని కొంతమంది అంటున్నారు. కాని నా అభిప్రాయములో వీడలకు దీనివల్ల మహాపాపకారము జరిగినదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అహారకారిత విర్వహిత ఈ రోజులలో మధ్యపాన నిషేధము ఉండడమువల్ల వీడ ప్రజలు ఇదివరలో త్రాగుడు క్రింద ఖర్చు చేసే డబ్బును మిగుల్చుకొని దానితో అహార ధాన్యాలు కొనుక్కొంటున్నారు. అయితే మధ్యపాననిషేధాన్ని అమలు పరచడంలో కొద్ది లోపాలు ఉండవచ్చు, అధికారులు కొంత శ్రద్ధ చూపించినట్లయితే మధ్యపాన నిషేధం జయప్రథము కాగలదనటానికి ఎంత మాత్రం సందేహము లేదు. ఇప్పుడు తీసి కల్లును తయారు చేసే నిమిత్తం కొంతమందికి పరిశ్రమలు ఇస్తున్నారు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో ఇవన్నీ దుర్వినియోగం చేయబడుతున్నాయి. బెల్లం చేయడానికి తీసి కల్లు తీస్తున్నామనే నెపంమీద పుల్లటి కల్లు తయారుచేసి వారికిచ్చిన అవకాశాన్ని చాలామంది పరిశ్రమ

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పుచ్చుకున్నవారు దుర్వినియోగం చేస్తున్నారు. కాబట్టి ఈ విధంగా పరిష్కారం ఉన్నదంతా చాలా జాగ్రత్తగా ఉండవలసి ఉంది. ఆనేక సందర్భాలలో ఉద్యోగస్తులు దొంగతనంగా సారాయి తయారు చేసేవారిని చూచి, చూడనట్లు వదలవేయడంవల్ల మధ్యపాననిషేధం జయప్రదము కావడం లేదని కొందరు నిందించటానికి అవకాశము ఏర్పడుతుంది. పర్మిట్ దార్జనంచి ప్రాపిలిటే ఇన్స్పెక్టర్లు, సబ్-ఇన్స్పెక్టర్లు 2 వందలూ, 3 వందలూ, లంపము తీసుకొని వొంగతనంగా సారాయి తయారు చేయడానికి అవకాశాలు కలుగజేస్తున్నారు. ఇది చూచుకొని ఆనేకమంది పరిష్కారం లేకుండా గూడ గీత గీస్తున్నారు. వీరు అందరి దగ్గరనుంచి మామూలుగా డబ్బు తీసుకుని సారాయి అమ్మకొనుట అరికట్టి మధ్యపాననిషేధాన్ని జయప్రదము చేయలేకుండా ఉన్నారు. ఈ పరిస్థితులలో మధ్యపాననిషేధం సక్రమముగా అమలు జరగాలంటే ఉద్యోగస్తులు సరిగా ప్రవర్తించేటట్లు చూచే భాగ్యత ప్రభుత్వము వారిపై ఉంది. అంతేకాని ఎవరో కొందరు మధ్యపాననిషేధం తీసివేయమన్నారనే కారణంచేత ఈ శాసనాన్ని రద్దు చేసినట్లైతే అహార ధాన్యాలు దొరకని ఈ రోజులలో మీద ప్రజలు ఎన్నో కష్టాలకు లోనుగావలసి వస్తుందని ప్రభుత్వం వారికి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

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p.m.

“అహార విషయంలో కూడా చాలా లోపాలు కనిపిస్తున్నాయి. ఒక రాష్ట్రంలోని ధరలకు యింకో రాష్ట్రంలోని ధరలకు చాలా తేడాలు ఉంటున్నాయి. దీని వల్ల రైతులలో చాలా ఆసంతృప్తి ప్రజలు ఉంది. అంతేకాకుండా ధాన్య సేకరణ విషయంలో కూడా చాలా లోపాలు ఉన్నాయి. చిన్న చిన్న రైతులను ఉద్యోగస్తులు చాలా బాధపెడుతున్నారు. చిన్న రైతు సేద్యం చేయడం చాలా కష్టంగా ఉంది. పెద్ద రైతులను వదలిచేసి సన్నకారు వ్యవసాయదారులను బాధించడంవల్ల ప్రజలలో చాలా ఆసంతృప్తిగా ఉంది. కాబట్టి పెద్ద భూస్వాములదగ్గర నుంచే హెచ్చుగా ధాన్య సేకరణచేసి చిన్న రైతులను కొంతవరకు వదలిపెట్టడం మంచి దని నా అభిప్రాయము.

“అహార ధాన్యాల పంపకం విషయంలో కూడా చాలా లోపాలున్నాయి మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోని పదమూడు తాలూకాలలో కోవూరు, నెల్లూరు తాలూకాలు మాత్రమే డెల్టా తాలూకాలు. మిగతా 11 తాలూకాలు మెట్ట తాలూకాలు. ఈ సంవత్సరం రావులూ, ఆత్మకూరు మొదలైన తాలూకాలలో పంటలు పాడైపోయి ప్రజలు చాలా బాధపడుతున్నారు. డెల్టా తాలూకాలనుంచి మెట్ట ప్రాంతాలకు అహార ధాన్యాలు తీసుకువెళ్లడం చాలా కష్టంగా ఉంది. ఏకో శర్మిట్ సిస్టంమీద అహార ధాన్యాలు తీసుకొని వెళ్లడానికి వీలు కలుగజేసేమని ప్రభుత్వమువారు అన్నారు. కాని ఈ విధానంవల్ల ఏమంత ఉపయోగము కలుగడములేదు. కాబట్టి జిల్లాలోని తాలూకాకు తాలూకాకు మధ్యపున్న Inter-taluk-movement ban తీసివేయాలి. ఈ విషయమే రెండు, మూడు సంవత్సరాలుగా ప్రభుత్వమువారికి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అయినప్పటికీ కూడా ప్రభుత్వమువారు హెచ్చు శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొంటున్నట్లు కనిపించడం లేదు. ఈ విషయం కనిగిరి రిజర్వాయరులో నీరు సరిగా లేని కారణంచేత డెల్టా తాలూకాలలోగూడా పంట సరిగా లేదు. అటువంటి పరిస్థితులలో జిల్లాలో ధాన్య సేకరణచేసి ఇతర ప్రాంతాలకు పంపించినట్లైతే మెట్ట తాలూకాలలోని ప్రజలు చాలా బాధపడతారు. కాబట్టి హెచ్చు ధాన్యాన్ని జిల్లానుంచి బైటకు పంపివేయకుండా తాలూకా తాలూకాలమధ్య గల రవాణా నిషేధాన్ని తొలగించి

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నల్లైచే ప్రజలకు సరిగా ఆహార ధాన్యాలు లభ్యమవుతాయి. కాబట్టి ఈ విషయాన్ని ఇప్పుడైనా ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఆలోచించవలసిందని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ధాన్య నేకరణవల్ల రైతులంతా చాలా యిబ్బందుల పాటోతున్నారు. చిన్న రైతులవద్దనుంచి ధాన్య నేకరణ మానివేయడం చాలామంచిది. వారి వారి భూమి పంటను బట్టి ధాన్య నేకరణ చేసినట్లైతే అసంతృప్తి చాలవరకు తొలిగిపోతుంది. ఈ విషయాన్ని 2, 3 సంవత్సరాలుగా ప్రభుత్వమువారి దృష్టికి తెస్తున్నాను. అయినప్పటికీ ఈ విషయమై ఏమంత శ్రద్ధ తీసుకున్నట్లు లేదు. అందువల్లనే చిన్న రైతులకు కాంగ్రెసు పట్ట విశ్వాసము లేకుండా పోతుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను, ఇప్పటికైనా మా కోరికను మన్నించి ప్రొక్యూర్ మెంటు విషయంలో చిన్న రైతులను హెచ్చు కట్ట పెట్టవద్దని జిల్లాలోవున్న తాలూకా తాలూకా మధ్య రవాణా నిర్బంధాలను తొలగించవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తిరిగి మనవి చేయుచున్నాను.

“ఎన్నికల విషయంలో కూడా చాలా లోటు పాట్లు జరుగుతున్నాయి. ముఖ్యంగా కాన్సిల్ కు లోకల్ బోర్డులద్వారా జరిగే ఎన్నికలలో చాలా లోటు పాట్లు ఉన్నాయి. దీనికంతా కారణం పోస్టల్ వాల్యు విధానమే. వాల్యు వేవరు వచ్చే టప్పుటికి కామకు కూర్చోని అభ్యర్థులు ఓటర్లకు లెక్కాల్నిచ్చి ఓట్లు కొనుక్కోతున్నారు. మా జిల్లాలలో ఓటుకు 2 వందలు, 250 వరకు కూడా యిచ్చి కొనుక్కొన్న సందర్భాలుకూడా అనేకం వున్నాయి. ఈ విధంగా ఓట్లు పోగుచేసిన ఒక అభ్యర్థి 25 ఓట్లను 7 వేల గూఢాయలకు మరొక అభ్యర్థికి అమ్మాడని ప్రజలు అనుకుంటున్నారు. ఈ అక్రమాలన్నింటికీ కారణం పోస్టల్ వాల్యు విధానమేనని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. లంచం తీసుకోకుండా ఓట్లు చేసేవారు ఒక వంతు అయితే లంచం తీసుకుని ఓటు వేసేవారు 2 వంతులున్నారు ఇదంతా చూస్తే చాలా విచిత్రంగా ఉంది. కాబట్టి ఈ విధానాన్ని మార్చి ఓటర్లు అందరూ వినో తాలూకా నెంటరుకు ఒక చోటికి వచ్చి వారి యిష్టానుగుణంగా స్వేచ్ఛగా ఓటు చేసే ఏర్పాటు చెయ్యవలసిందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ప్రస్తుతపు పోస్టల్ వాల్యు విధానం చాలా అనుమానాస్పదమై ఉన్నది. ఈ విధానం చూస్తేనేగాని న్యాయమైన ఎన్నికలకు అవకాశం లేదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“మహత్తా గాంధీగారు దేశం బాగుపడాలంటే గ్రామ పునరుద్ధరణ జరగాలని విశేష దీక్షరణ విధానము ప్రభుత్వంవారు అమలు చేయాలని చెబుతూ ఉండేవారు. గాంధీగారి ఆదేశాలను మనం సరిగా పాటించడంలేదేమోననే అనుమానం నాకు కలుగుతున్నది. పల్లెటూళ్ల వాళ్లను ఆశ్రద్ధచేయడం వల్ల ఏ ప్రభుత్వమైనా అసంతృప్తి గురి అవుతుంది. కాబట్టి ఇకనైనా గ్రామాలలోని ప్రజల కష్టనష్టాలు గమనించి ప్రభుత్వంవారు ప్రజలకు కావలసి వస్తువులను సరియైన ధరలకు దొరుకునట్లు చేయవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను. గ్రామాలు బాగుపడడానికి ఒక 5 సంవత్సరముల ప్రణాళిక తయారుచేసి దాని ప్రకారం అభివృద్ధి కార్యక్రమాలు జరిపినట్లైతే త్వరలోనే దేశం బాగుపడుతుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“దేశంలో విద్యాభివృద్ధి చేస్తేనేగాని దేశం ముందుకుపోదు. ముఖ్యంగా ప్రజలందరూ చదువు నేర్చినవారై ఉండాలి. అందు నిమిత్తం ప్రాథమిక విద్య నిర్బంధంగా

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చేయవలసిందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. నిర్బంధ ఉచిత ప్రాథమిక విద్యకు ప్రభుత్వం వారు ఒక పంచ వర్ష ప్రణాళికను అమలు చేయవలసిందని కోరుతున్నాను.

“గవర్నమెంటు పరిపాలన ఖర్చులుకూడా నానాటికి పెరిగి పోతున్నాయి. ఈ ఖర్చును తగ్గించవలసిన బాధ్యత ప్రభుత్వం వారిదై యున్నది. కొంతమంది డిప్యూటీ గవర్నమెంటు తగ్గించి ఖర్చు తగ్గించవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వం వారికి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“ఈ కాన్సెప్ట్ ఆఫ్ ట్యూలెన్స్ శ్రీరామకృష్ణ రాజులుంగారు సభ్యులమైన మా అందరి వట్టి చాలా సౌజన్య స్వభావంతోను ఆదరంతోను వర్తించారని సోదర సభ్యులు అభిప్రాయాలు వెల్లడించి వున్నారు. వారితో నేనుకూడా ఏకీభవిస్తూ ఆభ్యర్థనల వారికి నేనుకూడా సమస్కరిస్తున్నాను.”

* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, nothing could be truer than what the Hon. Chief Minister told pressmen a few days ago that it is embarrassing to continue in office any longer. I feel, Sir, it applies with equal force to the members of the present Legislature. It is embarrassing for us to continue as members of the Legislature and more so to discuss and consider the budget at a time when we are not competent to do so.

“This budget could have been very well presented to the new House. The propriety of presenting this Budget to this House may be correct constitutionally. But there seems to be no justification for doing so when viewed from its moral aspect. The only apology that we can have for discussing this Budget, is that our debates may offer some suggestions to the future Government of the State that would come into being shortly.

“Sir, many important questions have been handled very badly by the party in power and by the present Ministry. Unfortunately the hands of this Government were tied by the Central Government. So much so, the small mercy of subsidizing food that was being shown to this State has been withdrawn and the result is that there is increase in the cost of wheat by four annas a measure and the cost of rice by one anna and six pies a measure. On the top of this we have the prevalent famine in the whole of Rayalaseema. Due to Government's policy, prices of food-grains have gone up and the cost of living has increased abnormally. As a result poor people and the middle classes including the non-gazetted officers have been hard hit. They are not able to make both ends meet. Due to the increase in the cost of living, their monthly budget has to be increased by 10 or 15 rupees. That means still more suffering for them.

“Recently we have had the slump in the market prices. No less a person than the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has remarked that he was glad that prices have gone down. But who is benefited in reality? The poor people ultimately suffer. If the Government were to institute a proper enquiry into the present condition of our lower income groups, it will reveal their appalling condition. May be some merchants would

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have lost much, due to the recent slump in the market. On the whole the slump has not produced the desired effect of making the middle-classes happy.

“ Government’s export policy had made rich people become richer. No doubt the Centre is having an ultimate hand in this. But this Government should lose no time in impressing on the Central Government to adjust their export policy so that the poor people are benefited in the real sense. This is necessary because we cannot separate ourselves from the Central Government. It is necessary to have a uniform policy so that the bulk of the population comprising the poor could be made happy.

“ I am not going into the details of the present budget, because as has been pointed out by more than one hon. Member we are discussing it in an atmosphere of unreality. As the Hon. the Minister for Revenue has humorously pointed out, one Member after another leaving the House as soon as he makes his speech adds to the atmosphere of unreality.

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p.m.

“ I now come to a very important and very interesting question which has been discussed in this House and that is the question of prohibition. No Member, to whatever religion he may belong, can say that he is the only staunch advocate of this policy or that policy. I am as good a Muslim or as bad a Muslim as any other Muslim in this House. I am as much in favour of prohibition as any other Member who claims to be in favour of prohibition. But what is the result of this prohibition policy in this State? I say, Sir, on the floor of this House, in spite of the fact that I am a Muslim and a staunch advocate of prohibition, that this prohibition policy must be scrapped. I must be frank in what I say whatever may be the consequences. I must not mince matters. The prohibition policy of this Government is not only a failure, but it has done positive harm to the people. Those who have gone into the villages during the recent general elections will bear me out when I say that on account of this prohibition policy you have not stopped drinking but increased it in an abundant measure. In village after village I was warned by my supporters that I should not go there after 4 o’clock in the evening. I took their advice and went there at 10 o’clock in the morning. But even at 10 o’clock in the morning I saw men, women and children drunk and in a hilarious state. They simply came and fell upon us. If anybody doubts my statement, I am prepared to take him with me to-day or to-morrow to any village and give him positive proof of what I have said. He may see it with his own eyes. I ask, Sir: Is this prohibition? Let us not deceive ourselves. This is not prohibition. By this policy we are losing revenue and spending additional sums on maintaining an establishment. And all the while we are increasing drinking. Even if you abolish prohibition, you will not get back the revenue; because drink has become a cottage industry and people have become accustomed to drink without paying taxes. The reason why prohibition has been a failure is,

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according to me, there was no moral sanction behind it. The Government simply wanted to make a propaganda in order to make the Congress Party popular. They have also dragged the fair name of Mahatma Gandhi. They did not care whether there was moral sanction behind it or not and they did not want to make it a success. Therefore for the future guidance of any Government that may come in hereafter, let me say that unless they want to carry out the prohibition policy on right lines, it is better that they scrap it altogether and carry on the Government as it was carried in the days of the foreign British Government.

"I shall now come to one other important question. I want to save the time of the House, because you, Sir, are anxious that I should finish soon."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"On account of the 'unreality of the atmosphere' I do not want you to carry on the unreal business on unreal lines for long."

* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—"We are carrying on on unreal lines, Sir. I now come to the question of minorities. Sir, much was said about the party in power not having given representation to minorities. I am also sorry that the Congress Party did not, as a matter of fact take into consideration the representation of the different minorities—the Muslims, the Christians and the other minorities. But to me it appears that we are more to blame for this than the Congress Party. Some of us wanted to arrogate to ourselves, did arrogate to ourselves and have been daily arrogating to ourselves the right to represent the Muslim community. This clique bargained with the party in power that the list submitted by it should not be altered, that it should be unalterable like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. It wanted that its own nominees, its own family people, not only party people must be there and nobody else. It is said that no Muslim had any right to sit in the Legislature unless the persons it nominated were accepted. Otherwise, it said, there need not be any representation for the Muslims. It was in this stubborn spirit that it wanted representation for minorities. And the result is there is no representation for minorities. Four Muslims were elected to the Constituent Assembly on the communal ticket, that is to say, Muslim Members were elected by Muslims. They were in the Constituent Assembly. Provision was made for reservation of seats for Muslims and other minorities, but these Muslim members wanted separate electorates. They could not understand the changed circumstances; they could not read the signs of the times; they could not see how the wind was blowing. That was not the time for demanding separate electorates for Muslims however much we might desire it. Nobody would be willing to give separate electorates for Muslims. That was a concession given to the Muslims some time ago. Reservation of seats was promised for Muslims. But owing to the stubbornness of the Muslims in demanding separate electorates, the Congress Party,

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the Party in power and the Constituent Assembly said that they would not give even reservation of seats. We cannot find fault with the Congress Party for this. We have to pay for it. We have to reap the consequences of what we have done. I am not going to blame the Congress Party or any other party for the present position. If we had put forward reasonable demands, the Congress Party or the Praja Party or the Communist Party would have given us enough opportunities and the number of Muslims in the new Legislature would have been much more than what it is to-day. Sir, I have not gone to any party and asked for their ticket. I stood as an independent and got defeated. I stood on my own legs without going to any party. It was the duty of some party or other to ask me to stand on their ticket but they did not ask me to do so. I did not want to go to a party with a begging bowl in my hand and ask them to adopt me. I have played my part well. I did not yield to anybody in my criticism of the Government. I did not flatter the Government. I did not cringe to them. I criticised the Government without fear or favour. If I am not going to be in the Legislature hereafter, it does not matter. I have played my part concientiously and honourably. Any party would have given due representation to minorities, particularly the Muslim minority. But if we have not adequate representation now, it is our fault and not the fault of any party, much less than of the Congress Party. Let me, on this occasion admit on the floor of this House that, if there is any party which has shown any consideration to the Muslims and other minorities, it is the Congress Party. Let us be thankful to that party for the consideration it has shown to the minorities. Nobody will misunderstand me when I say this, because I have not gained anything from the Congress Party.

“ Then Sir, there is the question of the formation of the Government. I have stood for election more than once. I got elected more than once. I got defeated more than once. Defeat or success in an election is no criterion for the unpopularity or popularity of a person or a party. Therefore nobody need be ashamed of being defeated or feel overjoyed at being elected. We have seen instances during the recent election of persons being defeated in one place and elected in another place. Are such persons popular or unpopular? There is no question of popularity or unpopularity so far as the result of the elections, the freak of the ballot box is concerned. Therefore I do not see eye to eye with people who say that the Congress Party has been defeated at the polls. Nor can we say that the Congress Party has succeeded. But what about the other parties? A party with fifteen members elected cannot say that it has succeeded. So also, parties with 62 or 63 members cannot say that they too have succeeded. So far as I am able to understand, the greatest blunder committed by the Congress Party is the introduction of adult franchise. Adult franchise without adult education is a thing which I cannot understand. People do not understand what the vote is and for whom they are voting. They vote according to the symbols of

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animals and flowers and so on. They do not know what kind of people they are sending to the Legislature. They have not read the speeches that we are delivering in this House. They have not seen the work of the Ministers. Simply because so and so was a Minister, he must be defeated. People must vote against him. That was the sort of slogan on which the election was conducted. People did not know what that Minister did and what wrongs he committed. Therefore I say that the introduction of adult franchise was a great blunder committed by the Congress Party. In spite of the fact that the introduction of adult franchise and the conduct of elections has been praised in the foreign press, I must say that adult franchise has not been successful and people elected on adult franchise or defeated on that franchise need not be happy or sorry on that account.

“ Now, members have been elected to the Legislature. Constitutionally speaking and democratically speaking, the largest party must form the Government, whether the largest party is in an overwhelming majority or not. The single largest party is the Congress Party here and it is the duty of the Governor to call the leader of the Congress Party to form the Government and the later should select the other Ministers. There are peculiar circumstances in this State and so we are not following the principle of democracy on right lines. Whatever Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar has said is quite correct. But are we following real democratic principle in this country? We are being dictated to by somebody from somewhere else. We are not free to elect our own leader. We are helpless. In these peculiar circumstances, I would tell the Congress Party, that if other parties are willing to form the Government in spite of the fact that no party is by itself larger than the Congress party, if they want that they should be called by the Governor for this purpose much against the constitution and democratic principles, if they are anxious to burn their fingers by carrying on the Government under these circumstances, let them burn their fingers; give them a chance. Let the Congress Party step aside for a moment. Let others see what they can do. Sir, I have been a very strong critic of this Government, this Ministry and this Party. But on this occasion, let me say that no other party in power could have done well or as well as the Congress Party has done. While I have been criticising the Government, I have also been thinking what would be the position of any other person or party in the circumstances. If I had been the Chief Minister, I could not have done better than what had been done by these Chief Ministers in the circumstances of our State. There has been no time to do anything. In 1947 we had Independence. Then there was famine and we had no rains for a number of years. There were many other confusions and the Government had to be carried on. No other party could have carried on the Government as well as the Congress Party had done. That is my feeling, Sir. Let me not therefore be misunderstood when I say that the Congress Party has done well and played its part successfully and that it may now

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step aside and let other people see how they can carry on the Government. Then will people understand the difference between their profession, and their practice.

“ Sir, in this connexion, I should also like to pay my humble tribute to the Ministers, past and present—I find many of them are not here—for they have always been courteous, in spite of all our criticisms which were always very severe and pungent, and they never misunderstood those criticisms, but they have always been tolerant and helpful.

“ Now, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the House to one or two important matters, in particular, to black-marketing. I shall say a few words within the very short time at my disposal, for the consideration of the future Government. We have recently seen in the other House where there was a question about black-marketing in the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society, Limited, that there was some sugar muddle, there was so much sweet muddle. I say, Sir, the future Government must stop such a state of things. Sir, the Hon. Minister for Food is not here and I understand that a representation was made from Saidapet to hon. Members with regard to a sugar affair, a copy of which was sent to me and to the members of this House. Permits are given indiscriminately irrespective of the fact whether those persons who got those permits do really carry on business or not. Not only permits are given, but full quota is given to all these unnecessary people, whereas the relief shops which have really to distribute the sugar to people are not given the proper quantity of sugar. This was the purport of the representation which was sent to the Hon. Food Minister, a copy of which I have also received. I would like the Government to examine this question. It was also indirectly hinted in the representation that the quantity of sugar that is given to such permit holders is being sold in the black-market. If that is so, it is the duty of the Government to examine this question to find out who is the authority that is responsible for giving the sugar to these people. It is said that it is the Tahsildar, but I do not know who is the real authority that is responsible for this and why he is giving the permits. I want to know whether any investigation is made by such authority to find out whether the sugar that is given is actually utilized for the purpose for which it is given and whether it is a fact that the sugar that is supplied goes into the black-market or not. This should be examined and the poor man should not be made to suffer on this account.

“ Then, Sir, I want to say one word about mutton shop-keepers. In G.O. No. 623, dated 20th February 1952, His Excellency has exempted illiterate mutton shop-keepers from the operation of the Madras Shop Assistants and Establishments Act of 1947. I understand that almost every person who deals in mutton is an illiterate.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ Claims to be an illiterate.”

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* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—“ Not only claims to be an illiterate but he is actually an illiterate. Why should exemption be made in respect of particular people and not others. Why not copies of the Government Orders be communicated to the association of these shop-keepers so that the association might explain to the people the implications of the Government Orders.

“ Then, Sir, with regard to advertisements, I would like to place for the consideration of the Government the following facts. So far as the Muslim minority is concerned we have not got very many newspapers in any language. There is only one Hindustani daily ‘ Mussalman ’, of which I happened to be the editor. I had the privilege of being its editor some time ago and not now. That is the only paper in the whole State which represents the views of the Muslims in Hindustani. Government advertisements were being given to that paper, but after the advent of Independence, such advertisements were stopped with effect from 1948.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ May I know whether the hon. Member ceased to be its editor in 1948? ”

* JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—“ I ceased to be its editor long before that. So, Sir, since the advertisements of the Government have been stopped, I would like to place for the consideration of this Government, the claims of this paper for Government advertisements, because as I said, that is the only paper which represents the Muslim point of view in this State.

“ Sir, I do not think, I have got much to say on this Budget. I only wish to thank you for the kindness and courtesy which you have always shown to me and for giving me so much time in spite of the fact that there is only very short time left before us. I know there will be an occasion for the members of this House to express their humble appreciation of what you have done for us. Therefore, I do not want to say anything at present.

“ I now take the opportunity of thanking all the Hon. Ministers, the present Ministers and the ex-Ministers, and all the members of this House for having shown that amount of courtesy which we on the Opposition expected from them; not only that, but they have shown more than brotherly affection and a feeling of sympathy, equality and oneness in spite of our political differences. The *esprit de corps* with which we have worked in this House is a thing to be emulated in the future also. The fact of our having moved with each other and the way in which we have worked together in spite of political differences and in spite of criticisms, will always stand as a testimony of the great work that has been done by this House under your kind guidance.”

* THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, my Friend, the Minister in charge of Finance will deal with many of the aspects that have been raised by various Members of

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this House. I seek this occasion to reply to the hon. Members of this House so far as famine and a few other matters relating to my portfolios that have been particularly referred to in the debate.

"But, before I proceed to do that, I take this opportunity to thank every Member of this Honourable House for their many constructive suggestions. I can only reply that the future Government—whoever it may be,—will note all the advice and suggestions that have been given for improving the administration. Personally speaking, my continuance here is perhaps only for a few days and I should like on this occasion to express my gratitude to hon. Members for the uniform courtesies they have shown me as a Minister, though I have not been a Member of this House.

"Now, Sir, it is natural that after an election when we meet like this, though the atmosphere is unreal, some of the Members must bring in a little heat and perhaps a little more sound than necessary, into the deliberations of this House. I find my hon. Friend, Mr. Adityan is not here. I wish he were here. I was listening to his speech and I felt that what he said was not merely like the kettle calling the pot black, but like the kettle calling itself only white. He felt that any other party except himself and his associates were absolutely unworthy and that every party other than the Congress had common principles of upliftment of humanity and the only people that had not got any such thing were the defeated Congress people—or the successful 152 members of the Congress Party. It is strange logic. I hope he is convinced about his own logic. Sir, I do not want to go any further into the constitutional aspect of it. I am indeed grateful to the hon. Member, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar for the lucid and clear interpretation and enunciation of the constitutional position. I am sure every Member of this House is grateful to him for the clear and forthright way in which he put forward the constitutional position.

"Now, Sir, coming to the question of famine relief, I do not want to repeat what has been said by the Government in its Press Communiques or in the interviews that have been given or what has been said on the floor of the other House. I can only reiterate what I said that considerations of finance will not and shall not stand in the way of bringing succour and relief to those that need it. That will be the guiding principle of any Government. It cannot do anything but that, in a Welfare State. Unfortunately, in one of the local papers, the *Mail*, some reference seems to have been made in the course of an editorial that there are perhaps some secret instructions, that in regard to deaths in famine areas, the authorities have been told that if there are deaths due to famine, they should not be reported. I did not really observe that carefully, but it was brought to the notice of the Government by my Friend, Mr. Narayana Rao in the course of his Telugu speech and I immediately called for the reference from the office and I found that in the course of an editorial on the tour of the Hon. Mr. Munshi, it has been suggested, though

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perhaps in a very indirect way, that the Government have instructed somebody to see that even if there is death by starvation that should not be reported. I should like to take this occasion particularly to tell hon. Members of this House and everybody in the whole State and outside this State, that it is absolutely untrue.

4-15
p.m.

"In fact we would like to know the truth from whatever quarter it comes. After all, what is the object in suppressing truth? We all function here to help the suffering people. Suppression of a fact like that is not going to help any Government. On this occasion I should like to declare that there has been no such instruction. Everybody is welcome to give any information that will help the Government to administer the relief that is sought to be given to those in need of it in this calamity. Secondly, I do not want that politics should be brought in in the administration of famine relief. When people are suffering, it is the duty of every one of us to give all possible help to relieve their distress. A few days ago the Government appointed a Member of the Board of Revenue as Special Officer for the administration of famine relief. Every effort will be made by the Government to bring immediate and speedy relief to those that are suffering. Several suggestions have been made. My Friend Sri R. Suryanarayana Rao said that once I ceased to be a Minister. I would join him in the agitation for more relief. There is no need to wait for my joining him to bring relief to the people. To-day perhaps I may be able to secure more relief and issue instructions to the officers to avoid the defects which I have come to know from my experience of famine relief administration in the past. I can assure him and the other Members who have shown great interest in this matter that every one of their suggestions to speed up, and increase the quantum of relief will be looked into and necessary measures taken.

"The hon. Member Dr. Syed Tajuddin, said that the Grow More Food Campaign was an eye-wash. I know what an eye-wash is and as a doctor he must know it equally well. Let me tell him what we have done in the Grow More Food Campaign about which he complained. The total expenditure that has been incurred on Grow More Food Projects in this State from 1946-47 to 1951-52 is Rs. 16.7 crores. Under well subsidy scheme we have advanced a loan of Rs. 8 crores and after the completion of the wells, Rs. 4.1 crores has been converted into subsidy. Under the Tank Improvement Scheme we have spent Rs. 2 crores and other Grow More Food Schemes have cost the Government Rs. 10.6 crores. Thus the total expenditure on Grow More Food Campaign from 1946-47 to 1951-52 is Rs. 16.7 crores. I leave the matter at that and let the House judge whether the campaign is an eye-wash or a reality."

DR. SYED TAJUDDIN :—"The question is whether those amounts have been properly utilized."

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* THE HON. SRI H. SITARAMA REDDI :—“ I claim that they have been properly utilized. It is quite possible that there have been a few defects here and there. But to call a scheme which has cost Rs. 16·7 crores an eye-wash is not right.

“ The hon. Member from Cuddapah, Sri N. Ranga Reddi, took very strong objection to the visits of officials and Ministers to the areas affected by famine. He should have seen in the newspapers that there has been a complaint that some famine areas have not been visited by those people who visited the other famine areas. So it is not as though everybody is complaining about the visits. It is not for mere pleasure that anybody visits the famine areas. Many a time, officers have gone and will have to go in the future also to speed up the famine relief work and see that the Government policy in this behalf is implemented properly.

“ The hon. Member from Eluru, Sri Mothey Narayana Rao, said that grain had been collected and kept ready but that it had not been despatched to famine areas. I have already pointed out in a note that has been sent to him that Collectors of various districts have been ordered to see that, wherever foodgrains and fodder are offered, they are collected and sent to the famine areas at the cost of the Government. Every effort is being made in this direction.

“ The hon. Member Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar complained that there was a considerable increase of staff and comparatively less work done: That was the view of some other hon. Members also. I am sure the future Government will take note of this advice and try their best to prune to the extent necessary. If there has been some increase in staff or expenditure compared with the previous years, it should not be forgotten that the Government have undertaken responsibilities much more comprehensive and wide than those before they became wedded to the policy of a Welfare State.

“ May I add my humble tribute to the way in which you, Mr. Chairman, have been helping the Members in the conduct of the meetings of this Council? As the Leader of the Opposition said, perhaps we will have another opportunity to say more about this.”

* THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, you have conducted the deliberations of this House with ability, dignity and suavity and you have won the regard of Members of all sections of the House who have given you hearty co-operation in discharging the duties of your august office. The next Council will miss your wise and valuable guidance. It is unfortunate that in this country we have not been able to establish the convention of returning in the elections Speakers and Chairmen without contest.

“ The Leader of the Opposition is fortunate in having able and distinguished men to sit with him in the Opposition benches, though some of them do not belong to any particular party. An

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active and ever-vigilant Member like my hon. Friend Sri R. Suryanarayana Rao, who puts long and searching questions and makes studied speeches on almost every subject, is a valuable asset to any party. Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar is indeed a statesman in the grand manner. No one can equal him in the mastery of subjects like Education and Health nor can anyone fail to admire the rich lavishness of his valuable criticism. The two women Members of our Council—I do not find them here just now—have instilled poetry into our proceedings. They speak and act with such grace that even the hard things they say are delivered with a charm of manner which tends to soften the blow. Let me not be accused of making invidious distinction if I do not mention the names of other Members on both sides of the House, Members like Mr. B. Narayanaswami Naidu or Mr. N. Ranga Reddi or Dr. P. V. Cheriyan or the Leader of the Opposition who make valuable contributions to the debate.

“What shall I say about the Ministers? The high office of a Minister in these days is more a penance than a privilege. The game of politics is a crude business. I have heard of a great statesman in England who, when about to lay down his office, said: It would be better to keep a flock of sheep on the hillside than meddle in the government of men. I think that will be the feeling more or less of many persons who have held the high office of a Minister.

“My hon. Friend Sri S. B. Adityan has spoken with all the fervour of a new convert to a new party. What did he say about the achievements of the Congress Ministry when he was the Whip of the Congress Party only a short time ago and what is he saying now? I do not think people have such short memories as he thinks. Let them look at that picture and this and draw their own conclusion. Let us hope that he will remain steady at least in his present allegiance to the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party or the United Democratic Front.

“The success of our new Constitution depends upon the political parties who work it. Parliamentary democracy in England or America operates on a two-party system. The sentiments of the people find expression either in the party in power or the party in opposition. The state of parties in this country at present is something which calls for serious thought.

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“A number of parties have arisen in our country on the eve of the recent elections. About 18 parties contested in the recent elections in the Madras State and six of them were not able to secure even a single seat while several others were able to get one, two, or three or less than half a dozen seats. Let us not forget the electoral anomalies which we have under the present system of voting. When a number of candidates contest in a particular constituency, it may be that the successful candidates poll a comparatively small percentage of votes while the several other candidates who are defeated secure a much larger number. In these circumstances, can we claim that the composition of the new Legislature will reflect the real political feeling of the country?

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The two-party system enables the electorate directly to choose the Government they want. When there is a multi-party system, the choice of the Government is not made by the voters.

“ Now there is a talk of coalition Government. The United Democratic Front forged out of several parties has only one common purpose and that is to oppose the party in power and to put them down. I wish all good luck to S. B. Adityan & Co. in their great endeavour to usher in a new era of law and order in this State with less police force and less money to spend from the Exchequer. The Finance Minister, Sir, has a very unenviable task to perform. He has to meet the many competing claims of different departments. His task is lightened if he has got an able Secretary who will speak to him frankly and freely and tell him ‘thus far you can go and no further.’ For the time being, I am fortunate in having such a Secretary. It is said, and said very rightly too, that it is not enough if the budget is economically sound. It must also be politically pleasing. The agriculturist wants better prices for his produce. The fixed-income groups want a reduction in the cost of living. Different sections of people want, or are opposed to controls from their own limited points of view. All classes and ranks are opposed to any new taxation measures. As a great statesman has put it, to tax and be popular is as difficult as to love and be wise. (Laughter.) It is a difficult job for any Finance Minister to satisfy the people and obtain a vote of confidence on the economic policy. My revered friend Sri Omandur Ramaswami Reddiyar judges all matters from his own high standard. He is dissatisfied with what has been done in his own district as well as elsewhere. None can doubt his sincerity of question his good motives. As one who had been at the helm of affairs for two years, he must be knowing what the practical difficulties of the administration are with the limited resources at their disposal and the imperfect agencies through which they have to implement their policies and programmes. I wish he were here so that I could point out to him what has been done during the present Ministry’s time for his South Arcot district. The Government on the eve of elections published a booklet in the regional languages about the work done by the Ministry in every district. I would request him to read it and find out what has been done for irrigation, education, medical relief, roads, communications, etc., in South Arcot district.

“ The hon. Member Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar has made sound observations on several questions like Prohibition, right democratic conventions regarding the formation of the Ministry, and so on. I feel inclined to agree with his views on many matters. He thought that it was wrong to utilize revenue surpluses for capital expenditure. I am afraid economic theories have now changed. As he himself said the Finance Minister at the Centre referred to revenue surpluses . . . ”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I think Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar referred to current revenues.”

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DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ I referred to current revenues, Sir.”

* THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“ Current or past does not make much difference. The same principle applies. Mr. Deshmukh did not think it feasible to raise loans in the open market for capital expenditure on public works or railways. So, last year the Central Government imposed additional taxes and put up the railway rates so that the surpluses could be utilized for capital expenditure. Even in this State it is not only the borrowed money that has been spent on Mettur and Pykara projects but we have utilized to some extent our revenue savings. And our revenue reserve fund is made up of revenue savings.

“ Sir, many hard things have been said about Ministers and their failure to do this or that and their sins of omission and commission. I do not claim that any Minister is an angel. All of us make mistakes. But I should claim that my hon. colleagues, both those who are in the Cabinet and those who have gone out of the Cabinet, have done the best they could according to their lights. Here is a vast country with a growing population and with poverty, ignorance, disease and hunger stalking the land. We have passed through six eventful years—a period of unprecedented difficulties. War and partition have imposed a great strain on our economy. High and rising prices, shortage of food and essential commodities, etc., have caused great discontent among the people. Successive bad seasons unprecedented in the history of the State for the last 80 years or more have made the problem of food more acute. The election results show that the people are sullen and angry and are prone to believe the fond hopes held out to them of freedom from want and many other ills if only a new Government came in.

“ My Friend Sri Suryanarayana Rao has pleaded for better allowances to the non-gazetted government servants—I would call them civil servants—and teachers. I have every sympathy with the hard lot of these poorly paid people in these days when the cost of living had been continuously going up. We cannot say that this Government has not done anything for these people. The general revision of the scales of pay and allowances of Government servants in 1947 and 1948 and the succeeding years have cost an additional sum of Rs. 2.28 crores. The revision of teachers' salaries from time to time since 1947 has increased the cost by Rs. 2 crores. If the Central Government's rates of dearness allowance are to be granted for the Madras Government servants, we shall require an additional sum of Rs. 4 crores. If we have to give the same rates for our local bodies and aided school teachers, we shall require another Rs. 3 crores. I do hope that with the present slump in prices if the cost of living does not go down, the new Government will tap additional resources of revenue and give higher allowances to these civil servants and teachers. The Madras State, as all of us are aware, is the most deficit State in rice. Annually we have been importing foodgrain worth Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 crores at high prices. We have water resources which

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would enable us to grow all the rice we need if we execute the Krishna-Pennar project and the Ramapadasagar project. According to the Planning Commission, irrigation and power development on a large scale, adoption of intensive measures for increasing agricultural production, and the promotion of industries by means of cheap electric power, are measures which will enable the vast masses of this State to raise their standard of living. The Madras State has undertaken measures for increasing food production by extending irrigation facilities, by making available large quantities of fertilizers and organic manures, by the multiplication and distribution of good seeds, and by land reclamation also to some extent. The Government have undertaken a five-year programme of irrigation and power development which would cost them Rs. 80 crores and fetch to the Exchequer a fair return on the sums invested. I can confidently claim that no other State in this country has a development programme of such magnitude.

“ Our capital expenditure has been rising year after year since 1946-47 and it has amounted to a total sum of Rs. 62 crores during the period of the last five or six years. We are budgeting for Rs. 19.87 crores of capital expenditure for next year. Our biggest problem is the financing of capital expenditure on this large scale however necessary the various schemes of development may be. The Central Government want us to undertake taxation measures which will bring us an additional income of Rs. 4 crores a year. The Central Government have given to Madras a loan of Rs. 5 crores this year ear-marked for the Tungabhadra and Lower Bhavani projects and we expect that by the end of this year they will give an additional sum of Rs. 1 crore for the same purpose. We may expect similar assistance in 1952-53. Madras has been contending that the assistance extended by the Centre is very inadequate and we hope that the Centre will give us larger help out of the Special Development Fund which is largely made up of the sale proceeds of the American wheat.

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“ The hon. Gentleman Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar asked how the Zamindari Abolition Act and the Malabar Tenancy Act have failed to bring popular support for this Government. I was myself asking this question. I too asked the Minister who piloted the Zamindari Abolition Bill in the first instance why we could not get the support of the large number of ryots in zamin estates who were benefited by rent reduction. That was a question which he was not able to answer. There are socialists and communists everywhere and the trend of events is moving in that direction. As was stated by a statesman some years ago, we are all socialists now. The Congress Party programme has a marked socialist colouring. This Zamindari Abolition Act is claimed to be a great achievement in land reform.

“ Now, the Land Revenue Reforms Committee have made their recommendations. Fixity of fair rents for tenants and security of tenure for cultivators are two of the most important recommendations made by that Committee. Sooner or later, we shall have to

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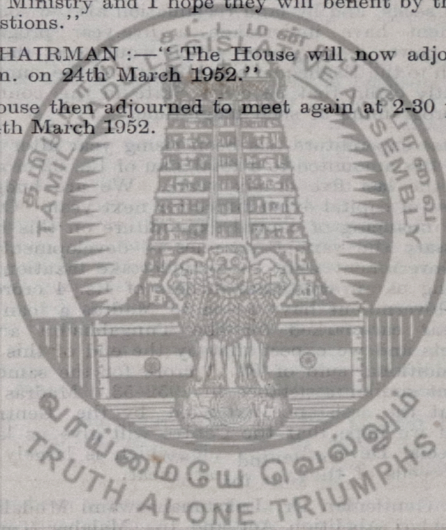
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give effect to those recommendations. There is no doubt that such action will promote economic equalities and social justice which are regarded as conditions indispensable for the survival of democracy at the present time.

"I am very thankful to the hon. Members for all the kind words that they have said and for the very valuable suggestions they have made in spite of the feeling that this is a very unreal Budget that is being discussed in a very unreal atmosphere. But these suggestions will go into our records and will be available for the future Ministry and I hope they will benefit by those criticisms and suggestions."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“The House will now adjourn and meet at 2-30 p.m. on 24th March 1952.”

The House then adjourned to meet again at 2-30 p.m. on Monday, the 24th March 1952.



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APPENDIX I.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 91 asked by Sri R. Suryanarayana Rao at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on 20th March 1952, page 144 supra.]

(a) & (b)

The main recommendations of the Marjoribanks Committee.

- 1 The percentage increases imposed during resettlements after 1914, on account of the rise in prices, should be cancelled in order to equalize the incidence of assessments in all the districts.
- 2 The basic water-rate in the district of East and West Godavari and Krishna and the deltaic portion of the Guntur district should be reduced from Rs. 6-4-0 to Rs. 5, the rate in existence before the enhancement was made.
- 3 The resultant rates mentioned in items (1) and (2) above may be treated as the basis for future revisions.
- 4 Such revision should, however, be made only by a vote of the Legislature at the time of the Budget Estimate with reference to the financial needs of the Province.
- 5 Changes should not exceed 1 anna in the rupee at a time and the rates should not be higher than the basic rates by more than 1 anna in the rupee at any time during the first ten-year period after the introduction of the scheme, by more than 2 annas in the rupee at any time during the second ten-year period, and so on.

The corresponding recommendations of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee.

In the case of districts or tracts resettled after 1914 wherein the price levels of the middle period (1905-06 to 1913-14) and of a number of years of the later period, i.e., post-1914-15, and possibly very few years of the pre-1905-06 period, entered into the calculation, the whole of the resettlement enhancements should be cancelled.

There is no case for the reduction of water-rates under the Godavari and Krishna ancient systems or in these deltas and the recommendations of the Marjoribanks Committee in this regard need not be accepted.

The standard assessment should be correlated to a range of price-levels from 300 to 400, being the Presidency average price of first and second-sort paddy expressed as rupees per garce of 3,200 Madras measures; and surcharges should be leviable when the price level reaches 100 points above 400 and rebates when the price level reaches 50 points below 300.

The reduction should be for every 50 points and should be at the rate of half-anna per 50 points.

The enhancement should be for every 100 points and should be at the rate of half-anna per 100 points up to a price-level of 1,000 and thereafter at 1 anna per 100 points.

The existing assessments, where they are higher than the standard assessments, should be brought down to the standard assessment, and surcharges should be levied on the standard assessments in all the districts with reference to the current level of prices in accordance with the principles recommended by us.

The same grounds which would justify the alteration of the standard assessment in consequence of alterations in prices would justify alterations in similar circumstances of the scale of water-rates, whether it be the standard scale of water-cess, or the special project rates.

The decision, whether there will have to be alterations in the level of assessments by way of enhancement or rebate under the scheme of sliding scale of assessment recommended by the Committee, should be taken by Government in October or November of each year with reference to the average prices of the twelve months terminating with that period, the level then prevailing and the anticipations of future trends that can be made; the decision will, of course, have to be sanctioned by the Legislature.

The scheme of enhancements and rebates under the sliding scale of land revenue assessment should be operative purely and solely with reference to the alterations in the price-levels and there should not be any changes merely with reference to the

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The main recommendations of the Marjoribanks Committee.

- 6 If the income of the local boards from land-cess and education-cess is not to be reduced, the limit of these cesses should be raised.

- 7 Legislation should be undertaken for making the official registration after careful verification and notification, presumptive proof of title.
- 8 Provision should be made for the systematic revision of the 'A' register of the village and for the up-to-date registry of holdings.

The corresponding recommendation of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee.

Cesses should relate only to standard assessment-

Cesses should not be levied either on the charge for commercial crops, or on the land revenue surcharges on larger holdings or on the agricultural income-tax.

No enhancement should be made over the rates at which the land and education cesses are now being levied and where the existing rates together are in excess of 25 per cent of the standard land revenue assessment, the rates should be brought down to 25 per cent.

The duty of effecting transfer of registry may be put in also, similarly, into the Land Revenue Act and details under the rules. This duty should, however, be confined to the existing scope and no attempt should be made to compile a comprehensive 'record of rights'.

A rough draft Bill was prepared in 1939 but before it could be finalized the first Congress Ministry resigned office and further examination of the question was postponed.

The whole matter is being examined by the Government in consultation with the Board of Revenue. It may, however, be mentioned in this connexion that though the Land Revenue Reforms Committee has recommended the cancellation or reduction by half of the resettlement enhancements in certain districts, the Committee has also suggested that the resulting standard assessment should be increased by 2 annas in the rupee with reference to the prevailing level of prices. The net effect of the acceptance of the Committee's recommendation will be the enhancement of the assessment by about Rs. 9 lakhs in the ryotwari areas taken as a whole.

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APPENDIX II.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 92 asked by Sri R. Suryanarayana Rao at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on 20th March 1952, page 145 supra.]

Statement showing the faslis from which the resettlement rates came to be enforced in the districts mentioned in Schedules A and B in Appendix X of the Second Report of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee.

Name of districts.	Name of taluks.	Number of villages.	Fasli from which the resettlement-rates came to be enforced.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Districts in Schedule A.			
1 Visakhapatnam	Golconda and Sarvasiddhi taluks.	..	1329
1-A Srikakulam	Palkonda taluk other than the agency area.	..	1329
2 East Godavari	Yellavaram	113	1344
	Nugur	102	1344
	Other areas	..	1341
3 West Godavari	Polavaram	21	1342
	Other areas	..	1341
4 Krishna		..	1341
5 Bellary	Black soil taluks	..	1333
	Red soil taluks	..	1334
6 Anantapur (excluding Kadiri taluk).	Black soil taluks	..	1333
	Red soil taluks other than Hindupur and Madakasira.	..	1336
	Hindupur and Madakasira taluks.	..	1337
7 South Arcot	Cuddalore	..	1327
	Villupuram, Tindivanam and Gingee.	..	1328
	Kallakurchi and Tirukkoyilur.	..	1330
	Six villages transferred from Vridhachalam to Kallakurchi.	..	1332
	Chidambaram	..	1331
	Vridhachalam	..	1332
8 Salem (Southern taluks).	Salem	165	1344
	Attur	122	
	Namakkal	75	
	Tiruchengodu	90	
	Rasipur	82	
	Harur	415	
	Mettur	5	
	Omalur	115	1319
	Do.	10	
	Hill villages and three plain villages.	..	1346
	Salem	12	
	Yercaud	67	
	Namakkal	7	
	Rasipur	14	
	Attur	3	
	Harur	10	
9 Tiruchirappalli (except Karur taluk).	Perambalur	102	* 1334
	Udayarpalaiyam	116	
	Lalgudi	115	
	Tiruchirappalli	86	
	Kulittalai	81	
	Musiri	85	1335
		3	
		26	1344

* The Kadarambam portion was resettled in fasli 1334 and the Nirarambam in fasli 1335.

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Name of districts.	Name of taluks.	Number of villages.	Fasli from which the resettlement rates came to be enforced.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Districts in Schedule A—cont.			
10 Tanjore	Tanjore	2	1343
	Do.	156	}
	Papanasam	138	
	Kumbakonam	137	
	Mayuram	178	
	Sirkali	80	
	Nannilam	229	
	Nagapattinam	138	
	Tiruturaipundi	132	
	Mannargudi	139	
	Pattukkottai	59	
	Arantangi	54	
11 Madurai (except Kodaikanal taluk).	Palani	..	1325
	Dindigul	..	1327
	Periyakulam —	..	}
	Non-periyar	..	
	Periyar	..	1326
	Nilakkottai —	..	1327
	Non-Periyar	..	}
	Periyar	..	
	Tirumangalam	..	1327
	Madurai	..	1328
	Melur	..	1328
12 The Nilgiris (Gudalur taluk only).	Gudalur	12	1336
13 Malabar	Wynaad	..	1336
	Fort Cochin	..	1344
	Palghat, Kozhikode and Walluvanad	..	1341
	Kurumbranad	..	1342
	Ponnani, Ernad, Kottayam and Chirakkal.	..	1343
14 South Kanara		..	1344
2. Districts in Schedule B.			
1 Chittoor	Chittoor and Chandragiri	..	1324
	Palmaner	..	1325
2 North Arcot (portion).	Tiruvannamalai	..	1329
	Wallajah, Arkonam, Gudiyattam and Vellore.	..	1323
	Polur	..	1324
	Wandiwash	..	1325
	Cheygar	..	1323
		..	and
		..	1325
Village in Javadi Hills.			
	Vellore	* 9	}
	Polur	* 17	
3 Srikakulam	Srikakulam and Ichapur taluks.	..	1319
4 Chingleput	Chingleput, Saidapet and Madurantakam.	..	1319
	Kancheepuram, Tiruvallur and Ponneri.	..	1320
5 Coimbatore	Bhavani	..	1319
	Palladam, Coimbatore, Avanashi, Gobichettipalaiyam and Dharapuram.	..	1320
	Erode	..	1321
	Pollachi, Udamalpet and Kollegal.	..	1322
6 Karur taluk in }	Karur	96	1320
Tiruchirappalli.		11	1327

* Resettled in fasli 1351 but the enhanced rates were not given effect to. Only changes other than new rates were introduced.

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APPENDIX III.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 97 asked by Sri R. Suryanarayana Rao at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on 20th March 1952, page 148 supra.]

(a) The attention of the hon. Member is invited to the answer furnished to clause (e) of Council Question No. 23 (starred) (paper already placed on the table of the House).

(b) According to the revised bonus scheme introduced by the Government of India with effect from 1st January 1951, no bonus will be paid on grain procured by the States for internal consumption, but a bonus will be paid at certain varying rates to exporting and importing States with reference to the quantities of foodgrains exported or imported by them. Even under this arrangement, no bonus will be paid if the exports fall below 75 per cent of the export quota fixed by the Government of India or if imports exceed 125 per cent of the import quota. As there are no exports from this State, no export bonus can be earned. No import bonus is also likely to be earned by this State for the reasons explained in the answer to clause (e) of Council Question No. 23 (starred) by the same hon. Member (paper recently placed on the table of the House).

(c) Against the approximate total subsidy cost on all Intensive Cultivation Schemes for the year 1950-51 of Rs. 298.53 lakhs, a sum of Rs. 232.61 lakhs has been met from the bonus fund last year and the excess over this bonus fund has to be shared equally by the State Government and the Government of India. The final reconciled figures of expenditure for 1950-51 are being collected from the concerned heads of departments and the Accountant-General, Madras, for effecting final adjustment of 'Grants'. Full details of the several items met out of the bonus fund during 1950-51 have been furnished already in the paper placed on the table of the House in answer to Question No. 23 (starred) by the same hon. Member.

The total estimated grant due from the Government of India for the Intensive Cultivation Schemes of 1951-52 is Rs. 216.85 lakhs.

(d) The payment of procurement bonus has been discontinued already with effect from 1st January 1951. As explained in the answer to clause (b) above, according to the revised bonus fund scheme of the Government of India, no bonus will be paid to State Governments on quantities of cereals procured for internal consumption.

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(e) No.

This position has been anticipated and credit has been taken in the budget estimates for 1951-52 for a sum of Rs. 218 lakhs as the estimated 'Grant' from the Government of India for Intensive Cultivation Schemes on the assumption that the Government of India will, as usual, sanction financial assistance on a half-grant basis.

(f) The Government of India were addressed by this Government for sanctioning a *full* grant for 1951-52 so as to cover not only their half share, but also the other half share of this Government. The Government of India have regretted their inability to sanction grants to cover the entire subsidy cost on Intensive Cultivation Schemes.

